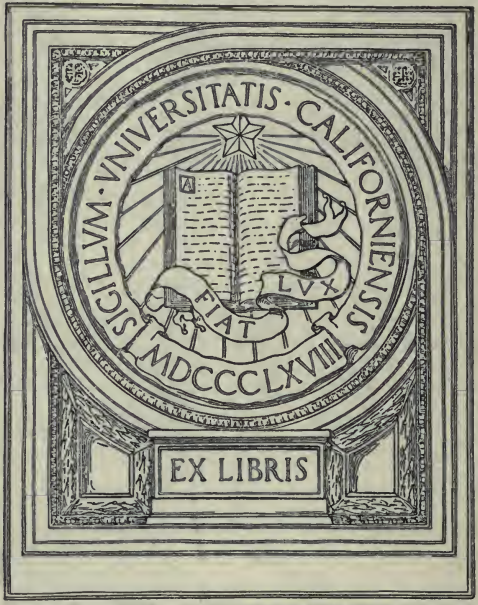
DS
754
C5

YB 28916

GIFT OF
HORACE W. CARPENTIER



The Visit of the Teshoo Lama to Peking.

Ch'ien Lung's Inscription.

TRANSLATED

BY

ERNEST LUDWIG,

PEKING.

1904.

TIENTSIN PRESS, LIMITED.

Ch'ien Lung, emperor of China

The Visit of the Teshoo Lama to Peking.

Ch'ien Lung's Inscription.

TRANSLATED

BY

ERNEST LUDWIG,

PEKING.

1904.

TIENTSIN PRESS, LIMITED.

CARPENTIER

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/visitofteshoolam00qianrich

ERRATA.

For	Chih-La-T'an-T'an-La	on page	3,	line 14	*read*	Chih-La-T'an-La.
,,	Chin-mu-tso	,, ,,	4,	,, 11	,,	Chia-mu-tso .....
,,	disgression	,, ,,	5,	,, 5	,,	digression .....
,,	羅 藏	,, ,,	7,	,, 12	,,	羅卜藏
,,	anthentic.....	,, ,,	7,	,, 27	,,	authentic.....
,,	settlements of the Miao-tazu	on page	11	line 24	*read*	settlements of the Miao-tzu.
						on page 11, line 25 *read* parenthesis before "arab."
,,	this arrival	,, ,,	13,	,, 30	,,	his arrival .....
,,	遺 便	,, ,,	14,	,, 28	,,	遣 使
		,, ,,	17,	,, 17	*omit*	parenthesis before "as."
,,	wealthly	,, ,,	20,	,, 7	*read*	wealthy .....
,,	sates	,, ,,	21.	,, 25	,,	states .....
,,	Dagaba	,, ,,	22,	,, 7	,,	Dagoba .....
,,	house which garden..	,, ,,	29,	,, 22	,,	house with garden
,,	poople	,, ,,	30,	,, 12	,,	people .....
,,	descriptton	,, ,,	40,	,, 14	,,	description .....
,,	mythologe ides	,, ,,	57,	,, 23	,,	mythologie des ..
,,	Czanpo	,, ,,	54,	,, 19	,,	bzanpo .....
,,	see	,, ,,	59,	,, 20	,,	see the .....
,,	This is to also.....	,, ,,	59,	,, 20	,,	This is also .....
,,	philosophys	,, ,,	67,	,, 6	,,	philosophy .....
,,	a	,, ,,	71,	,, 12	,,	an .....
,,	kpi	,, ,,	72,	,, 5	,,	kyi .....
,,	Reichtnm	,, ,,	72,	,, 27	,,	Reichtum .....
,,	als or.....	,, ,,	74,	,, 1	,,	als Sternbild ....
,,	D'hitika	,, ,,	74,	,, 6	,,	Dhitika .....
,,	suggestlid	,, ,,	75,	,, 14	,,	suggested.....
,,	transliteration on	,, ,,	79,	,, 3	,,	transliteration is.
,,	錯 爾 濟	,, ,,	79,	,, 29	,,	綽 爾 濟
,,	Hoch würdige.....	,, ,,	81,	,, 4	,,	Hochwürdige ....

MNW
C5

THE VISIT

OF THE

Teshoo Lama to Peking.

I.

The following inscription, of which the Chinese text and translation are given in the II. part, together with some explanations in the III. part, necessary for the comprehension of the translation, refers to the visit of the Teshoo Lama to Peking, which occurred towards the end of the 18th century.

Besides this Lama there was only one more among the High Priests of the Tibetan clergy who paid a visit to an Emperor of China in Peking: i.e. the 5th in the list of the Dalai Lamas. I consider it appropriate to introduce here, first an abbreviated account of the visit of this dignitary to Peking, as recorded in the 東華錄, and 聖武記 since in current works of foreign authors, no, or only very little, mention is made of it; and I give it first, as in the chronological succession, this visit occurred about 130 years before that which forms the subject of my monograph.

M278491

The 聖武記 informs us, that in the 2nd year of Emperor Ch'ung Tê (1628) two princes of the Khalkha [喀爾喀*] Mongols petitioned to the Emperor to send money to defray the expenses of the proposed visit of the Dalai to Peking. In the 4th year of his reign (1630), an envoy of the Oelöts (Eleuths 厄嚕特) arrived in Peking, and on his departure was entrusted with a written message to the Dalai. In the 7th year (1633) this Dalai with the Pan-ch'an (Panshen, Pan-ch'en) as mentioned later, inaugurated diplomatic communication with the Imperial court. In accordance with an invitation of the Emperor Shun Chih, he started on his trip in the 9th year of the above emperor (1652). In the 東華錄 mention is made of his letter to the Emperor, sent while he was en route, in the 8th month of the 9th year Shun Chih, asking the Emperor whether he could meet him at 歸化城 Kuei-hua-ch'êng (†Kuku Khotun) or 代噶 Tai-ka.‡ The Emperor excused himself for—not being able personally to meet him at either place, owing to the 西南用兵來往 but would send in his stead 碩塞親王大臣接他 while he 俟無事時便可親往. In the winter of this year, the Dalai entered the capital, and was received by the Emperor in the Forbidden City in the 太和殿.

He was entertained in the Western Yellow Temple—"the Dalai Lou 達賴樓," built expressly for his accom-

* For further references vide the appendix.

† The so-called "Blue Town."

‡ For this name vide the appendix.

modation by the Emperor. After some months' stay, he left Peking in the 2nd month of the 10th year (1653), and was accompanied by the Emperor as far as the 德壽寺 in the 南苑. In 代噶, as the 東華錄 says, he was presented by the Emperor with a golden tablet and seal, through 碩塞親王, who, with a guard of Manchu soldiers, was attached to his escort. In the inscription on the tablet he was designated by the Emperor as the "Very Virtuous, Happy Buddha of the Western Heaven and Supreme Leader of all Buddhists under Heaven, the Holder of the Diamond Sceptre of the Universe, Dalai Lama"

(西天大善自在佛所領天下釋教普通瓦赤喇怛喇達賴喇嘛 Hsi T'ien Ta Shan Tzu Tsai Fo So Ling T'ien Hsia Shih Chiao P'u T'ung Wa Chih-La-T'an-T'an-La Ta Lai Lama)*

The visit of this Dalai is likewise mentioned in another inscription in the Yellow Temple. (世祖章皇帝定鼎燕荒徼景附達賴喇嘛在國初導諸藩傾心歸命其功最鉅至順治九年來朝京師)

Notes: 1. Körösi Csoma Sándor says in his notes to "Tibetan grammar" that this Lama named Nag-dvang blo bzang rgya-mthso is that Great Lama, who in 1640 founded the hierarchy of the Dalai Lamas at Lhassa, 4 years before the conquest of China by the

* This seems to be Koeppens "Vadschradhara Bodhisattva (vide his Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche" p. 1671) Vadjra the diamond club, sceptre, emblem of Buddha's power over evil (Eitel).

Manchus. It was upon the solicitation of this ambitious man, that a Mongol Prince conquered Tibet and afterwards made a present of it to him."

2.—The list of the Dalai Lamas according to the 聖武記 is as follows:—

1.—根敦珠巴 Kên-tun Chu-pa.

2.—根敦嘉穆錯 Kên-tun Chia-mu-tso (lived under the Ming Emperor Chêng Tê and from his time the Dalai Lamas are termed by Chinese Historians and the people: 活佛 Huo Fo).

3.—索諾木嘉穆錯 So-no-mu Chia-mu-tso (recognized by both Yellow and Red Sects.)

4.—雲丹嘉穆錯 Yünt-an Chin-mu-tso (of Mongolian offspring and through his Mongolian connections exercised a good influence on his tribe. It was said, that owing to his merits the Mongols in Mongolia proper and in 青海 were peaceful for more than 50 years after his death, brigandage and murders being unknown.)

5.—阿旺羅卜藏嘉穆錯 A-wang Lo-pu-tsang Chia-mu-tso, the one who visited Peking.

6.—伊喜嘉穆錯 I-hsi Chia-mu-tso proclaimed by Latsang Khan to be the reincarnation of the 5th Dalai Lama.

7.—噶爾藏嘉穆錯 Ka-êrh-tsang Chia-mu-tso, proclaimed by Mongolians as the genuine reincarnation of the 5th great Dalai Lama, and installed by K'ang Hsi first in the 紅山寺 near 西寧府 then in 塔爾寺 and on request of the 土伯特 at last enthroned in Lhassa, 58th reigning year of K'ang Hsi (1719.)

The complete list of these Grand Lamas is given in Waddell's "Buddhism in Thibet." It is to be noticed, that the designation "Dalai Lama" was first applied to the 5th in this list. The

similarity between the Chinese transliteration of the Lamas in this list with that of Mr. Waddell's is striking and a good proof of his remarkable accuracy.

(For further references see the appendix.)

After this disgression, I will now take up my principal theme: the visit of the Teshoo Lama.

This Teshoo Lama, whose name is given as r Dsche b Tsun d Pal dan-i-si by Hilarion, and b Lo-bzan dpal-ldan ye-s'es by Waddell, is a rather familiar person to Chinese scholars and to the general public taking interest in Buddhism and Lamaism.

He has become known: first, through the transcript of Emperor Ch'ien Lung's letter to the 8th Dalai Lama (in his 46th reigning year, 14th day of the 2nd moon: which was prepared by P. Amyot, missionary at Peking) and is contained in the "Mémoires concernant les Chinois," Tome IX; then through Mr. Dalrymple's references in the Vol. II. of the Oriental Repository: through Captain S. Turner's "Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet"; through C. Friedr. Koeppen's "Die Lamaische Hierarchie and Kirche" etc. Apart from the foregoing authorities, references are also found in the 聖武記 Shêng-wu chi, which is a compilation from Imperial Edicts and official Historical Records of the Empire (上諭 and 國史), effected between the 22nd and 26th years of Tao Kwang, by the official 魏源 who must have held a position as secretary of the grand secretariat—(內閣中書). In this work, this Lama is stated to have been the sixth of

the Lamas residing in Tashi-lhunpo with the official title of Pan ch'an Ê(o-ê)rh-tê-ni* (班禪額爾德呢).

Of his predecessors, the names of the three first are not exactly identified. The first is called 喇珠呢瑪綽爾濟伽勒布格爾) La-chu-ni-ma ch'o-êrh-chi chia-lo.

*The official list of the "Tashi" Grand Lamas is entitled pan-sku-p'ren rim-pa ltar byon-ya-ni and gives no dates .....It begins with the somewhat mythical disciple of Buddha, Su-bhuti.. including legendary Indian personages as re-incarnations, as well as the following six Tibetans, the fourth of which is usully held to be the first of the Tashi-lhunpo Grand Lamas. As, however, Tashi-lhunpo was only built in 1445, only the latter two of this list (supplementary list) could be contemporary with it, and as is noted in the text, their biographies show that they were ordinary monks who held no high post, if any at all, at Tashi-lhunpo. (Waddell: The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism.)

I give here both lists, as published by Waddell, as I think they are good standards of comparison for my List from the 聖武記

1.—Supplementary List of so-called Pan-ch'an Grand Lamas.

1. K'ug-pa lhas-btsas, of r Ta-nag monastery.
2. Sa-skya Pandita (1182-1252.)
3. g Yun-ston rdo-rje dpal (1284-1376.)
4. m K as-sgrub d Ge-legs-dpal zang-po (1385-1439.)
5. pan-ch'en-b Sod-nams p'yogs kyi-glan-po (1439-1505.)
6. d ben-sa-pa blo-bzan Don-grub (1505-1570.)

2.—List of „Tashi" Grand Lamas.

1. b Lo-bzan chos-kyi rgyal-mts'an (1569-1662.)
2. b Lo-bzan ye-she dpal bzan-po (1663-1727.)
3. b Lo-bzan dpal-ldan ye- s'es (1738-1780.)
4. r Ie-bstan pahi ñima (1781-1854.)
5. r Je-dpal-ldan ch'os-kyi grags-pa bstan-pahi dban p'yug (1857-1882.)
6. .....1883.

pu-ko-êrh and is reported to have been born in the 10th reigning year of the Ming Emperor Chêng T'ung, which would be according to our era the year 1445, and is likewise the year of the founding of Tashi-lhun-po. His name appears in another place of the 聖武記 as (凱珠布格垮克巴勒藏) K'ai-chu-pu ko-lo-k'o-palo-tsang and this transliteration comes nearer to the name given in Waddell's supplementary list.

The second name is (珠拜旺曲索諾木綽爾濟朗布) Chu-pai-wang ch'ü So-no-mu ch'o-êrh-chi lang-pu. The year of his birth is unknown.

The third is called (結珠拜旺曲羅藏達多王珠巴) Chieh-chu-pai-wang-ch'ü lo-pu-tsang ta-(to)-wang-chu-pa and was born in the 18th reigning year of the Ming Emperor Hung Chih (1505).

The name of the fourth has also two transliterations. One is (班禪羅卜藏綽爾濟嘉勒參) Pan-ch'anlo-pu-tsang ch'o êrh-chi Chia-lo tsan and the other (羅卜藏垂吉嘉穆錯) Lo pu-tsang ch'ui-chi Chia-mu-tso. He was born in the 1st reigning year of the Ming Emperor Lung Ch'ing (1567). This Lama is reported to have joined the 5th Dalai Lama in sending to the Ching Emperor Ch'ung Tê, an envoy with a message and presents, in the 7th year of the Emperor's reign (1633). The messenger took an indirect way through Mongolia to Shingking (盛京), thence down to the capital. This is recorded to have been the first anthentic intercourse between the Tibetan Holy See and the Emperors of China.

In the 1st year of Shun Chih (1644), the two Lamas

presented the Emperor with a golden idol of Buddha and a precious rosary. The monarch in return favoured them with gorgeous armour, fine bows and arrows, sables, etc., and invited them to come to see him in Peking. The Dalai Lama promised to come, while the Pan-ch'an excused himself as being too old and unfit for so long and painful a journey.

The fifth is likewise called [班禪羅卜藏伊喜] Pan-ch'an Lo-pu-tsang I-hsi in one place, and [羅卜藏伊什] Lo-pu-tsang I-shih in another. He lived under the reign of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. In his 52nd reigning year (1713), the Emperor forwarded to him a golden tablet [金册] and a golden seal [金印] the usual gift of the Emperors of China to high dignitaries of the Lamaist church. On the tablet he invested him with the supreme power over Tashi-lhunpo and the whole country of Houtsang [後藏] Ulterior Tibet.

His reincarnation, the 6th Pan-ch'an Erh-tê-ni [班禪哲布尊巴勒丹伊喜] Pan-ch'an Chê-pu-tsun pa-lo-tan I-hsi or [羅卜藏巴丹伊什] Lo-pu-tsang pa-tan I-shih, is the subject of this monograph. He was born in the 3rd year of Ch'ien Lung (1738) but was installed only in the 6th reigning year of this Emperor (1741) (1743-Waddell).

In the 30th reigning year of Ch'ien Lung (1765), he was presented with an Imperial golden tablet [金册] (without the gold seal apparently, as this is not mentioned).

As recorded by Porungheer Gosein, who accompanied the Pan-ch'an on his journey, he had previously refused

in the years 1777-1778-1779, several invitations from the Emperor, giving as excuses, that the air and climate of China were bound to be pernicious to his health, as he was not used to them. The Emperor, however, having urged the Dalai Lama and other prominent dignitaries to use their influence with the Pan-ch'an, at last prevailed upon him to accept, and he finally began his remarkable trip in the middle of the year 1779. Changoo Cooshoo Punjun Irtiune Neimoheim, Regent of Tashi-l'hunpo during the minority of Loptsang Paldan I-shih's successor, in his letter to Warren Hastings (1782) states the date to be the 17th of the month Rubbee u'sannie in the year of the Hegira 1193, i.e. 17th of June 1779.*

The Lama's retinue consisted of a gorgeous suite and 1500 troops. He followed the route which passes near the Ko-Ko-Nor to Kumbum (塔兒寺 T'a êrh ssū), which lies 40 li south-westward from Hsining-fu [西甯府] on the Ta-shan (塔山). It is the 胞衣地 of Tson K'a-pa, reorganizer of the yellow sect, and its monastery is well-known from the descriptions of P. Huc and W. W. Rockhill. Here and throughout his entire route afterwards he was the recipient of all the marks of worship, which are customarily shown by the devout to holy men of his rank. There were also many evidences throughout

* 33 Mohammedan years are equal to 32 Christian years, so in case of a transferring of dates, one has only to reduce the given Mohammedan dates, by its 33rd part and then add to the result 622, which stands for the 1st year of the Mohammedan era as inaugurated by the Caliph Omar. It is in this case: 1193 : 33=36+; 1193—36=1157+622=1779.

the trip of the sincerity of the Emperor's words when he wrote: "that he looked up to him as the first and most holy being of those on earth, who devoted their time to the service of the Almighty and that the only remaining wish, he now felt, was to see him and to be ranked amongst his disciples."

The Emperor despatched as far as Kumbum, Generals and other grandees to greet him, and to present rosaries of pearls [數珠], saddles and all riding accoutrements, utensils of silver, etc., etc.

On his further progress the Emperor sent the Ague [阿哥], who later was his eldest living son, accompanied by the Chang-chia 'Hut'ukht'u, the metropolitan. These met the Lama at the miao of Tai-han (Tai-ka*) presumably the Taygaw goombaw of Porungheer Gosein. This name as seen above is likewise mentioned in the Chinese records of the visit of the Dalai Lama.

After the Teshoo Lama had repaired from 代噶爾 to Dolon Nor, he was met by the princes, who bear the the title of 汗 Khan (Han), and other dignitaries and Lamas who presented him again with tokens of the mercy and kindness displayed towards him by the Emperor.

On the day of the Fire and the Cock (21st) in the 7th moon of the autumn in the year of the Golden Rat, which is the 45th reigning year of Emperor Ch'ien Lung (probably September 1780), the Teshoo Lama reached Jehol, where the Emperor was expecting him. The statement of this date is contained in both the letter to the Dalai Lama and in the inscription. The term 山莊 [避署] designates here undoubtedly the country seat of the Emperor in Jehol. The

* For this place see the appendix.

聖武記 records that the Emperor had built in anticipation of his arrival in Jehol a temple modelled after the Temple of Happiness and Longevity on the Mount Sumeru* in Tashi-lhunpo [須彌福壽之廟] This Imperial munificence is alluded to in the inscription and in the report of Porungheer Gosein. Mr. Mayers in "Chinese Government" likewise mentions it. Edkins asserts, that one of the monasteries in Jehol is modelled after Potala, the residence of the Dalais at Lhassa. (Edkins Chinese Buddhism p. 266) As the wording of the inscription refers to the temple (or palace) of the Pan-ch'an in Tashi-lhunpo and the above statement of the 聖武記 likewise confirms this, it seems to me probable that Edkins had confounded this palace with the Potala in Lhassa.

The Emperor met the Pan-ch'an at first in the 避暑山莊之澹泊誠敬殿

In order to converse with the Pan-ch'an intimately, the Emperor had previously learned the language of the 唐古特 Tang-ku-tê (Tanguths.) The 聖武記 gives an interesting enumeration of the polyglot accomplishments of Ch'ien Lung, which is worthy of repetition: "At first he learned Mongolian, then, after the pacification of the Mussulman tribes and the 金川 (The settlements of the miao-tazū in Ssu-Ch'uan are called 大金川 and 小金川 Arab and Tibetan). Now that the Pan-ch'an was coming to see the Emperor, he learned 唐古特 "to avoid the transmit-

* 蘇彌述盧山唐云妙高山舊名須彌山 according to the 法苑珠林.

ting of repeated interpretations, and so that their conversation would be like that of members of the same family." 初上習蒙古語及平回部金川皆習回語西番語茲因班禪來覲復習唐古特語故重譯來朝告語如一家.

The 聖武記 here explains that in ancient times the Dalais and Pan-ch'ans would simply kneel before the Emperor, without prostrating themselves, on account of their high rank. On this occasion, however, the Pan-ch'an so earnestly besought to be allowed to kotow that the Emperor, convinced of his sincerity, permitted him to do so. [舊以達賴班禪有高行入覲惟跽不拜至是班禪固請拜上嘉其恪誠從之.] The necessity for the "kotow" could have perhaps influenced the Dalais and Pan-ch'ans in their refusal to visit the Imperial Court, as they considered themselves to be the Emperor's equal or superior in rank.

The first interview between Ch'ien Lung and his illustrious guest took place in a secluded part of the Palace at Jehol. Only the Metropolitan [章嘉呼圖克圖] was allowed to be present. The Pan-ch'an was seated on an elevated seat, while the Emperor sat on a lower one between the Metropolitan and the Pan-ch'an. The subjects of this conversation, which is reported to have lasted about three hours, were the chief rules and principles of the True Law of Buddhism.

At a later conversation of a more public character, the Lama having craved permission to present a request,

availed himself of the opportunity to mention his previous intercourse with the Governor of Hindustan Warren Hastings, through Mr. Bogle, and asked the Emperor to open friendly communications with this country. In fulfilment of a promise, which he had given to Mr. Bogle, at the latter's visit to Tashi-lhunpo, in the winter 1774-75, he obtained for him a pass to proceed from Canton to Peking. His intention was to introduce Mr. Bogle at court, and thus bring the Government of Bengal and the British into closer communication with the Emperor of China. Unfortunately, however, the nearly simultaneous death of Mr. Bogle and the Pan-ch'an made this scheme an illusory one.

After twenty-six days' stay—"逾月 about a month," according to the inscription—, the Pan-ch'an set out for the capital, while the Emperor moved on to visit the tombs of his ancestors.

On the 2nd day of the 9th moon, the Lama made his entry into Peking.

The inscription states, that he was here entertained by Imperial command in the Yellow Temple. This seems not quite congruous with the statement of the Emperor in his letter to the Dalai, wherein it is said: ".....that after his reception, which was a splendid one and caused the assembling of many thousands of Lamas and people, he was conducted to the Yuen-ming-yuen, where the Emperor had assigned for his habitation that part of his palace which is named the Golden Apartment. The information on the tablet is, however, confirmed by the 聖武記 as follows: "On this arrival at Peking, he was received in

the 德壽寺 in the 南苑 and resided in the Hsi-huang-ssu, explaining here prayers and absorbed in contemplation." [仍居西黃寺講經放參]

Another inscription in the Yellow Temple of the 36th year of Ch'ien Lung (1771), in mentioning the arrangements made by Emperor Shun Chih to entertain the envoys of the Dalai and Pan-ch'an every two years, in this Temple, further supports the 聖武記 and the inscription under consideration.*

As the text of the letter must be credited, it seems that his stay in the Yuen Ming Yuen must have been a very short one.

By order of the Emperor, the Pan-ch'an was shown everything of interest in Peking and its environments, such as the 香山, the 萬壽山, the Winter Palace and all the noticeable temples in the capital.

A substantial description of the points of interest seen by the Lama in Peking is to be found in Captain Turner's account, as gathered by him at a meeting with Soopoon Choomboo, who was styled also Sadeek (cup-bearer) and held the second rank in the court of Teshoo Loomboo next to the above mentioned Changoo Cooshoo :

"In my next interview with Soopoon Choomboo, he entertained me with a description of the gardens, villas and palaces of the Emperor of China, and the various entertainments contrived to gratify and amuse the Teshoo Lama during his residence at that court. One of the first

*嗣是達賴喇嘛班禪額爾德呢間歲奉貢遺使咸館寺中

spectacles he noticed, was a most splendid display of fireworks, exhibited in celebration of the commencement of the new year, * which greatly engaged his attention and admiration. This entertainment continued for three successive days, during which time the Teshoo Lama in company with the Emperor, was a frequent spectator of their beauty and effect. The singular magnificence of some of the Imperial Gardens had made an equal impression upon his mind. In one of these, according to his description, was a large canal, surrounded with figures of a gigantic size, representing the signs of the zodiac; each figure, as the sun entered its corresponding sign, becoming a fountain of water, which continued to play until its passage to the next. An extensive menagery, filled with rare and curious animals, among which were tigers, leopards, bears, deer and the wild boar, was equally successful in attracting their notice. He stated also, that the Emperor had ordered a ship to be constructed on a large lake and armed with guns to resemble a first-rate man-of-war. The guns were discharged on board this ship, to give them an idea of a sea engagement. Feats of horsemanship were not forgotten, with a design to vary their amusements, and fill up the time. In this he said the people of China displayed great agility and skill....."

The Lama is too reported to have given on one occasion an audience to the ladies of the Imperial harem, who came to receive his benediction, which he bestowed upon them while sitting behind a fan of yellow gauze; and fixing

* This statement seems improbable, as all the reports concur in fixing the date before the end of the year 1780, and Changoo Cooshoo even places it in July.

his looks on the ground, to avoid troubles of conscience, as the chronique scandaleuse of Lamaism comments.

Throughout his stay he was in close intercourse with the Chang Chia 'Hut'ukht'u and seems to have spent some time in the residence of the latter, Yung Ho Kung (雍和宮)

Regarding the Teshoo Lama's intercourse with priests in Peking, a curious anecdote is found in the 聖武記. It relates that a certain Buddhist priest of high morality from the western hills, came to discuss with him the Law of Buddha, and took the opportunity to reprove his coming to China and accepting undue reverence (責以不宜入中國過受崇奉) recalling that the Dalai Lama too was overwhelmed with attentions from Shun Chih (世祖禮達賴處也) He reminded him that his place was in Tibet, where he should remain to serve as a model of peacefulness and purity (宜居西番清淨式衆.) The story goes, that the Pan-ch'an thanked the priest for his kindly correction. This little account would suggest that the proper Buddhist clergy, the 和尚, was inclined to envy the favours and distinctions shown to the Lamaist dignitaries by the Court.

The Emperor held the Pan-ch'an indeed in the highest esteem and manifested his satisfaction at having him in his capital in every possible way. Entertainments and feasts succeeded each other rapidly. Prayers were offered by the Lama for the prosperity and welfare of the Emperor and his people in the Temple of the Amplification of Charity and that of Concord and others. The Emperor seems really

to have felt indebtedness to this man, who, to quote the words in his letter to the Dalai:— "In undertaking a journey of 20,000 li, to contribute to the celebrity of my 'Wan-shou' did more than sufficient to entitle him to all the distinctions that could evince my sense of his kindness; but the air of satisfaction and pleasure, which diffused itself on all around him, and which he himself manifested whenever he was admitted to my presence, impressed on my mind one of the most exquisite gratifications it ever felt".. .....Unfortunately, in a very short while, however, the Teshoo Lama was taken with small pox, which in those days was the scourge and great dread of China and Tibet. The Dalai Lama, who visited Peking during Shun Chih's time seems to have shared the general dread of the disease, and acted very wisely in taking an early departure from Peking. (達賴喇嘛奏此地水土不宜身既病從人亦病請告歸) as reported in the 東華錄—)

In spite of all available medical assistance, and though the Imperial Princes and the Emperor himself frequently visited his bedside, and in spite of the munificent charities bestowed on his behalf upon the poor, the holy man could not escape his destiny. "He returned from this perishable world to the everlasting mansions" (according to the words of Changoo Cooshoo to Warren Hastings) on the first day of the month of Rujjub, in the year of the Hegira 1194." This would be the 5th July, 1780. According to the letter of the Emperor to the Dalai Lama and the text of the inscription, however, his death occurred on the day of the Fire and Rat (2nd day) of the 11th moon, which is about December of that year.

Some of the commentators of the Teshoo Lama's journey to Peking, such as A Rémusat, and Koeppen, are inclined to attribute his death to poison administered by order of the Emperor, who, they say, suspected ulterior designs on his part, on account of his connection with the Government of Bengal and Warren Hastings, and who was afraid that the Lama, with British assistance, would try to overthrow the Dynasty and get hold of the Supreme power in the Empire. Although the records of the Dalai and Pan-ch'an's successions may abound with hideous nightmares of clandestine murders and poisonings, yet this particular supposition seems unfounded, and it is not at all likely that the Emperor Ch'ien Lung would have nourished fears of the above nature, and would have been driven to take refuge in the Borgian method of eliminating dangerous rivals.

In his letter to the Dalai, the Emperor details his intense grief, which would, at least publicly, disclaim the truthfulness of the above suspicious accusation: "The afflicting intelligence"—he says—"was immediately communicated to me. The shock overcame me. With a heart full of the most poignant grief, and eyes bathed in tears, I repaired to the Yellow Chapel (temple) where, with my own hands I fumed perfume to him etc., etc." The Emperor likewise issued orders to pay all due honor to the Pan-ch'an's earthly remains. A splendid receptacle was constructed for the purpose of holding his remains, which were enclosed in a pure gold shrine (金龕). This was again placed in a copper case. Prayers were unceasingly uttered at the bier, and when the hundred days of deep

mourning had elapsed, he made arrangements to have the body conveyed to Tashi-lhunpo, with all possible funeral pomp, on the day of the Fire-Dragon (or the 13th) day of the 2nd moon in the year of the Golden Ox, which must be February or March of 1781.

The Emperor in person went with the procession, as far as he "thought it proper," and his eldest son accompanied it the distance of three days' journey from the capital. Then the coffin was carried on the shoulders of men to Tashi-lhunpo, which the cortège reached after seven months and eight days.

The Emperor erected a mausolem in Tashi-lhunpo, a reference to which is found in Captain Turner's "Account of an Embassy, etc."..... ....: The "Teshoo Lama," I was told, had lavished upon this shrine of his predecessor immense wealth; yet his own, which was nearly completed before his visit to the Emperor of China, had been since greatly enriched by the tributary offerings made to him on that journey (by the Emperor), and was now considered as the more splendid and magnificent of the two..... It now appeared that the building we had hitherto seen, served only as a case to cover a most beautiful pyramid placed within it. At the base of this pyramid the body of the late lama was deposited in a coffin of pure gold, made by command of the Emperor of China upon the decease of the Lama at his court, and in which the body was conveyed, with the utmost solemnity and state, from Peking through the provinces of China and Tibet to Teshoo Loomboo."

The Dagoba in the Yellow Temple for which the

inscription had been prepared by Ch'ien Lung, is also in commemoration of the event. As appears from the text of the inscription, this Dagoba contains only the garments, shoes, and prayers of the Lama.

It may be of some interest to refer in this place to the custom which prevails throughout China of burning the bodies of the chiefs and other wealthly priests of both Buddhist and Lamaist monasteries.

The cremation takes place in court yards, (塔院兒) assigned for the purpose outside of towns. In Peking, for instance, there is the 桑穆答庵 for the head priests of 雍和宮, the 老爺廟 for those of the 嵩祝寺, the 西番堂 for those of the 西黃時. Then there is the 萬壽寺 near 豆腐閘 for the Buddhists. The corpse is seated in an iron chair in the "meditation" attitude, as prescribed by Buddha and is placed in the centre of the courtyard. Faggots are heaped around it, which are lighted at midnight by the pupils. The next morning an investigation is made by the pupils to see whether the bones have turned yellow or black. The first color indicates that a life of unsullied purity has been lived by the deceased, and this intimation is greeted with great rejoicing by the pupils and bystanders, who instantly do the fragments homage. If the bones are discovered to have turned black, this unfortunate circumstance, indicating that the departed priest has been a man of evil character, is received with great sorrow and reviling, though the fragments are always collected in small urns of pottery or porcelain, to be enshrined in 塔 or Dagobas.

Captain Turner states, that "in Thibet it is the custom to preserve entire the mortal remains of the sovereign Lamas only, every other corpse being either consumed by fire or given to be the promiscuous food of beasts and birds of prey." It seems, however, that the corpse of the Pan-ch'an was burned, as the inscription speaks of 化 (燒化) (burnt) remains, and the term 舍利 (sarîra) used by the Emperor, indicates the bodily relics or ashes left after cremation of a Buddha or saint. The ancient Chinese terms for the 塔 in which these relics are enshrined, are 佛圖, 浮屠, corresponding to the topes or stupas in India, the chorten's in Tibet, while the term "tchaitya" [支提, 支帝] is used, according to the 法苑珠林, only in describing the buildings containing no relics.

Koeppen states that the Emperor ordered the body of the Pan-ch'an "to be embalmed and placed in a receptacle of gold, shaped like a pyramid, in sitting position with under-crossed legs, as in this position Buddhist holy men are obliged to die." The text of the inscription seems to contradict this statement, and I am inclined to believe that Koeppen made a mistake, confounding the attitude in which the priests are disposed for cremation with the subsequent enshrinement, which latter is of course only the arrangement for the preservation of half-destroyed fragments of bone. Koeppen sates further-more, that "the octagonal, 15 fathoms (Klafter) high obelisk of marble in the neighbourhood (?) of the monastery of Khuang-sse, where the prelate had died, is covered on its top with a pure-gold bonnet (Haube) of the shape of a Lamaist mitre." This obelisk is of course the dagoba, situated in the grounds of the Yellow Temple, and

the precious bonnet is merely gold-plated—in its present state, at least. Mr. Koeppen has hardly seen the temple himself, and his statement seems to rest only on the report of Mr. Timkousky, who in 1820 had charge of the Russian caravan to Peking (vide Huc). If this bonnet were really genuine gold, when Timkousky saw it, its value must have been enormous.

This Dagaba stands in the middle of the 塔院 of the Western Yellow Temple, joining the Dalai-lou, the former residence of visiting Dalai and Tashi Lamas.

At present, this building is a complete wreck, and visitors are not even allowed to inspect the interior, for fear of falling bricks and beams. The Dagoba is no doubt one of the finest chefs d'œuvre of Buddhist architecture in China, and one cannot but regret that the bas-reliefs on its plinth, representing scenes in the life and trip of the Tashi Lama, bear conspicuous traces of the vandalism of 1900, when troops occupied the building after the Boxer trouble. Around its base are littered rubbish, and the dung of animals who seem to have been stabled in the surrounding dependencies of the Temple, which itself stands empty and desolate, wrecked like so many other temples in 1900. The Monument has a Pai-lou in front and another at the back, both of soft white marble, which is, too, the material employed in the monument. Four little turrets of marble surround the central dagoba, which are nearly covered with inscribed prayers. A flight of marble steps leads to the platform, on which the central structure stands. The sculptured ornaments and carvings reproduce Buddhist emblems, and the general disposition of the monument crowned by the copper-gilt bonnet, is that of all chortens and dagobas.

II.

清靜化城塔記 西黃寺東首碑亭碑文

蓋聞有為者非法法奈無為常住者非道道歸無住大慈民以宏濟為願力自無始刼來妙明圓覺普利人天大千衆生歡喜安隱各滿願欲此慧燈所以續於常明法輪所以資乎善轉也庚子秋七月丁酉聖僧班禪額爾德呢自後藏越二萬里來覲於是乎山莊有札什倫

布之建肖其所居以資安禪逾月遂至京師供養於黃寺乃十一月丙子忽示寂茲刹辛丑二月丙辰以舍利送還後藏計自來覲至示寂自示寂至還藏屈指各及百日其間去來因緣真不可思議因命寺之西偏建清靜化城塔院藏經咒衣履誌聖因也初班禪之永濟也以海宇清宴民物熙和樂觀華夏之振

興黃教而蒙古諸藩一聞是事無不欣喜頂戴傾心執役內地人民亦延領企踵奔走皈依以為國家吉祥善事於震旦國土宣揚宗乘成就無量功德者焉豈知指像尋源者不可以證覺海攀梯求徑者不可以陟靈山生滅同源去來一法遂乃入寂莫非宣教蓋自飛錫乾竺時早已了然無癈故山莊授記之日

即留高弟羅卜藏敢珠布等於札什倫布傳習經律宣闡正教亦猶如來涅槃所說我有無上心法悉付摩訶迦葉為汝等作大依止也然則有為者非法常住者非道豈不信然而清靜化城之與札什倫布所以闡宗風宣妙諦是一是二不待重提絮論矣

乾隆四十有七年歲在壬寅長至月吉旦御筆

INSCRIPTION ON THE STONE TABLET IN THE EASTERN PAVILION OF THE WESTERN YELLOW TEMPLE.

(*Translation.*)

Epitaph on the Dagoba, tomb of the ashes [1] of the Pure and Peaceful One.

"Thus have We heard, that the men of action are not "those of the law, but the law is inaction.

"Those who do not persevere, do not attain the "way. The way is never ceasing effort.

"Greatly compassionating mankind [2] and desiring and "striving to help them, he in his kindness travelled from "beginningless space. [3]

"His wonderful bright intelligence knew all things. [4]

"His benefit was all-pervading, alike to men and "heaven, comforting the rejoicing universe, [5] and fulfilling "all desire (for holiness). [6]

"His wisdom was a lamp, that added to the eternal

1.—In spite of this term 化, which refers to burnt remains or ashes, it is understood that the earthly remains of the Lama had been transported to Tashi-lhunpo and the use of it is here only an academical one.

2.—lit. people. (民)

3.—始刼 includes the idea expressed by 刼數, which Giles translated by "fatal calamity, cataclysm."

4.—i.e. the 因果, causes and effects.

5.—lit. making joyful and comforting the Universe of all living beings.

6.—This desire seems to be more congenial with the mission of the Holy man, as, if the desire were for mere temporal benefits, it would be beneath his sanctity to fulfil it, besides being a manifest impossibility.

"radiance,[7] and a help to keep the wheel of the Law "revolving to the greatest good.

"On the day of the Fire and the Cock of[8] the 7th "month, in the autumn in the year of the Golden Rat, "the holy[9] priest, Pan-ch'an Erdeni, came from Hou "Tsang,[10] passing over 20,000 li to see Us.

7.—lit. added to the eternal buring lamp (of Buddhism). Manjusri is sometimes also styled the lamp of wisdom and supernatural power.

8.—i.e. the 21st day of the 7th month, presumably September of 1780.

9.—聖=holy is a higher designation than 眞=true, perfect, elevated, which is often used as an honorific title for both prominent Buddhist and Taoist priests. It is higher than 仙=immortal.

10.—後藏=Ulterior Tibet south-westwards from Central Tibet 中藏, as the 聖武記 calls it, while 前藏 comprehends the Eastern part of Tibet with Chiamdô 察木多 and 阿里 Ngari=Western Tibet.

(西藏古吐番元明爲烏斯藏其人則謂之唐古特亦曰土伯特其地分三部曰康即四川打箭爐外巴塘察木多之地爲前藏亦曰喀木曰衛即布達拉及大招寺本吐番建牙之所今達賴喇嘛居之爲中藏布達拉華言普陀宗乘也曰藏即札什倫布本坵舊所治今班禪居之爲後藏札什倫布華言吉祥山也以山得名又前極西之阿里則稱四部云)

Shigatse is the capital of Hou Tsang. Although the Central Government of Lhassa exercises a conspicuous influence on its temporal affairs, the Pan-ch'an Erdeni is considered to hold the balance of power. The highest representative of the Chinese Government in Hou Tsang is the 糧道 in Shigatse. (vide also my article, "Einige Worte über Tibet" published in the Ostasiatische Lloyd, XV. Jahrgang, 41 Nummer, 1901.)

" Therefore We built him a [11] pavilion, like that in " which he dwelt in Tashi-lhunpo, to enable him to " peacefully indulge in his meditations. After one month " he then proceeded to Peking, where We entertained " him at the Yellow Temple.

" Suddenly he announced [12] his approaching demise, " on the [13] day of the Fire and Rat of the 11th month " (which accordingly occurred).

" On the day of the Fire and Dragon [14] of the 2nd " month, in the year of the Golden Ox, his remains were " sent back to Hou Tsang.

" On bending the fingers to count from his coming to " see Us, till his death, and from his death till the sending " back to Hou Tsang, it amounts to about 100 days " altogether.

" The true inwardness of the cause of his going and " coming one cannot explain. [15]

" Therefore, We, the Emperor, order to have established " on the Western side of the temple a [16] burying courtyard

---

11.—山莊=translated by Giles,—a temporary burying ground for strangers, would here not convey the right meaning, which is a house which garden, a country-seat, a summer resort in the hills (避署山莊) and used in the Chinese accounts to designate the Palace in Jehol.

12.—i.e. announced to his disciples who surrounded his bedside.

13.—i.e. 2nd day of the 11th moon, presumably December 1780.

14.—i.e. 13th day of the 2nd moon, presumably March 1781.

15.—Lit. One really cannot think and discuss the cause 因緣 which lies behind his going and coming.

16.—塔院, where the remains are burnt, as mentioned in III. part.

" with Dagoba, being the tomb of the ashes of the Pure and " Peaceful One, and the receptacle of his prayers, [17] garments " and [18] shoes, in order to bear witness to this remarkable " course of events.

" In the beginning on the arrival of the Pan-ch'an to " stay forever, [19] the Universe was moral and tranquil, and " the affairs of the people were peaceful and prosperous, and " he rejoiced to see, that the Yellow Church in China was " prospering. And the Mongol feudal [20] princes, just " hearing of this event, were most glad and bent [21] in " adoration, and poured out their hearts in service to him. " In the Inner Land, [22] the poople also stretched [23] their necks " and stood on their heels, and hastened to take refuge in

---

17.—The term 經 stands for "Sûtra" containing prayers and the immediate instructions of Buddhism on Dogmas. 律 "Vinaya" in Sanskrit, are the precepts of moral asceticism and monastic discipline. 論(藏) "Abhidarma" (pitaka) in Sanskrit, consists of discussions in many instances by known authors, on the Buddhist creed and on heresies (Edkins idem opus.) These three represent the primary division of the Buddhist books in China. For further information vide Edkins id. op.

18.—Kia-sha, Ka-shaya, Kasha in Sanskrit word for gown or robe worn by Buddhists as symbol of outward teaching (Edkins idem op.)

19.—永濟, being used here in the meaning of 永不斷. This recalls to mind, the sentence of the Emperor's letter to the Dalai Lama. "I remarked with a peculiar sentiment of affection, that he never once spoke to me on the subject of his return. He seemed to fix his abode near my person."

20.—蕃諸＝諸侯

21.—頂戴＝頂禮

22.—i.e. the people, who lived in the inner provinces.

23.—延領＝引領

" Buddha, [24] considering that it was an auspicious [25] event to " the Empire.

" And he was about to exhort all the land [26] to observe " the (three) conveyances and to bring about a condition of " boundless [27] virtue, alas !

" How is it that you don't know, that by pointing out " the images and speculating on their origin, you will not be " able to obtain the proofs [28] of enlightenment ?

" And seizing the ladder and hunting for the path, you " cannot ascend the [29] mountain of instruction ?

" Whether he be alive or dead, or whether he be [30] here " or there, it is the same.

" He naturally has entered into the Quiet Place, but he " still and surely proclaims the conveyances.

" Because of the time when he was a [31] wandering priest

24.—Here 皈依 stands for 皈依佛

25.—lit good and lucky.

26.—震旦 term used in the 法苑珠林 for China ; " tan " meaning country as in Afghanistan, Hindustan, etc., (vide also Edkins idem op.)

27.—功德 very often used in Buddhist prayers as for instance in the 藥師瑠璃光如來本願功德經, (殊勝功德功德巍巍, 功德莊嚴 etc., etc.,) and in the 金剛般若波羅密經 (所得功德何以故, 諸佛功德, 無邊功德 不可思議功德, etc., etc,)

28.—覺海 or 覺悟 condition of enlightenment.

29.—vide III. part. In this paragraph 靈山 is a 對子 to 覺海.

30.—lit his going and coming is the same.

31.—Bikshu.

" in India, his intelligence had been long complete, and he " labored not uselessly.

" Therefore in Jehol on the day when he delivered [32] " (the Sûtras and Sâstras) he left an injunction to his eminent " disciple [33] Lo-p(u)-tsang Tun-chu-p(u) and others in [34] Tashi- " lhunpo, to preach the practising of the Sûtras and Sâstras, " and to proclaim and make clear the true doctrine.

" Thus the Tathagata, when he was entering into " Nirvana, spake : 'I have already committed to the trust " 'of Mahâkâs'yapa the unsurpassed doctrine of the heart, " 'in order that you have a firm reliance upon which to lean.

" And yet, how is it, that you don't believe, that the " men of action are not those of the law, and that those who " do not persevere, do not attain the way ?

" So furthermore the Tomb of the burnt remains of the " Pure and Peaceful One, together with Tashi-lhunpo are " there to guide the attitude of the community, regarding the " conveyances, and to proclaim the four noble truths.

" Whether there be one or two, it is not to be expected, " that such difficult subject should be argued again and " again."

Endorsed by Emperor Ch'ien Lung on an auspicious day of the Water-Tiger month, being the month of the summer-solstice, in his 47th reigning year.

32.—授記＝授傳.

33.—vide part III.

34.—i.e. in the temple in Jehol, built on the model of that in Tashi-lhunpo.

III.

The inscription is carved on a tablet standing upright on the back of the fetiche of Chinese, the tortoise, under the shelter of a pavilion to the right of the Dagoba.

It is—as are nearly all of them in China—presented in four languages, Chinese, Manchu, Tibetan and Mongolian. To the text proper, Buddhist prayers are appended, the translation of which I esteem out of place published here.

The inscription is for two reasons worthy of attention. Primarily it gives a clear, though not exactly detailed account of the visit of the Pan-ch'an Lama, then it comments upon the general views of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung on Buddhism—the Buddhism of his day. They prove him favorable to the Buddhist scheme just as much as, or more than, Emperor Shun Chih was, and they are certainly widely different from the views of the Emperor K'ang Hsi, as exposed in his Sacred Edict. This latter sarcastically emphasizes those defects of Buddhism which must have been conspicuous to every mind trained in the spirit of Chinese classics. It had of course to decry "all that these Buddhists talk about, being absorbed in contemplation, comprehending intelligence and becoming Buddhas." It was obliged to sneer at "their" (the Buddhist's) "classical writings, the Heart classic (多心經), etc.," and had to express doubts as to "the existence of the Western Paradise," and the belief "that by serving Buddha one's life would be prolonged."

Yet this same Emperor K'ang Hsi was gracious to the Lamas and the whole Lamaist hierarchy, when he planned to

have Mongolia and Tibet brought under his yoke. Therefore he took part against the Regent (Ssangss rGjass rGja mThso) in Lh'assa, supporting the protégé of the Mongolians for the succession to the Tibetan papal throne after the death of the 5th Dalai Lama. And that was the reason that he evinced a great interest in all Tibetan affairs, as an earnest of which he sent cordial invitations to the 5th Pan-ch'an Erdeni (班禪羅卜藏伊喜) to visit him.

The Emperor Ch'ien Lung, though also an autocrat of independent mind like his grandfather, was yet in contrast to him rather a protector of Buddhists and Lamas and the holy reincarnations of their church, and apparently not always entirely for policy. Certainly the present inscription gives a substantial digest of his views.

The way he begins is to pick up the two marked distinctions made in his time between the 有爲 "yu wei" and 無爲 "wu wei" divisions of Buddhism.

These terms are of ancient origin in China, being long in use before Buddhism was ever known. A quotation, which is often found in old Chinese records, I add here: "無爲而治" "Rule consists in inaction; i.e. in non-ruling."

It was the leading principle in the government of the Emperors Yao and Shun. Everybody was allowed to go his own way, the Emperor and government not interfering either with their subjects or government of other countries. Chinese pretend that through this indifference shown by the chief of state, which was, of course, so at least it is maintained, diffused throughout the departments of administration,

commerce and general prosperity of the people could develop and increase, and China then enjoyed its happiest times. Naturally, expansive policy was thus practically banished from the scheme of government, as this would have necessitated the exertion of activity. The maintenance of this innocuous and comfortable principle supposed, however, a corresponding attitude from the surrounding neighbours. And later on when the Tartars, Huns, Mongols, etc., began to infest China, this peaceful inactivity had to be given up. Consequently, the succeeding Emperors were forced to gradually change this leading principle into the opposite: "有爲而治" "Rule consists in action." In the times of K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, ruling according to the principle of "無爲而治" certainly would have ruined the prosperity and power of the Empire, instead of furthering it.

The references Mr. Beal gives in his first lecture on Buddhist Literature in China (上德無爲無己爲, 無有心務得, 愛民治國能無爲, etc.) are certainly highly interesting from the point of view of the lexicographer, who seeks to get °*out* the real meaning of a term by careful comparison, but Mr. Edkins' explication of these two distinctions, applied to sects of Buddhism, is here more accurate. The Buddhists adhering to the 有爲, those of action, or those who rely upon action, are the first established in China. The others existed in China for about 300 years. The Sect 無爲教 was founded by Lo Huei Nêng, called also the patriarch Lo, about 270 years ago.

Mr. Edkins says: "The name of the sect is Wu-wei-kiau, which translated literally means the 'Do nothing sect.'

The idea intended by it is, that religion consists not in ceremonies and outward show, but in stillness, in a quiet meditative life, and in an inward reverence for the all pervading Buddha. Buddha is believed in, but he is not worshipped. They are temples, if they may be so-called, but they are plain structures, destitute of images, and having in them only the common Chinese tablet to heaven, earth, king, parents and teachers, as an object of reverence." He adds in another place; "External Buddhism seeks after the Nirvana, encourages, appoints prayers for the dead and makes use of much outward show to win the multitude. This is 'yeu-wei' or 'reliance on action.' The mystic Buddhists resist such a method of attaining the ends of religion. They recommend inaction or wu-wei. It is from them that the wu-wei sect has sprung." Again: "The phrase wu-wei is one of the watchwords of idealistic and mystical schools in China; while yeu-wei, action, a phrase of opposite signification is the cry of systems which favor materialism."

I may add, that the wu-wei sect, which was at first persecuted, next prohibited by the Sacred Edict, then tolerated, and afterwards encouraged until it finally triumphed, has in our times lost its prestige.

The Chinese say: "To clear out of one's heart the four important things—wine (酒), lust (色), wealth (財) and anger (氣),—that is wu-wei 四大皆空那是無爲."

The following of this ideal is falling more and more into desuetude, and though there may be some few who take up their cudgels on behalf of the "wu-wei," the business of modern times does not offer them chances to carry out their

beliefs to any extent. The straggling followers of the "wu-wei" are to-day considered as "fei-jen" 廢人 or "good for nothings."

These quotations and remarks will suffice to enable one to understand the application of these two terms as the preamble to this epitaph on a great Lama's tomb.

The inscription begins: "Thus have We heard. Those of the action are not those of the law. But the law consists in inaction." Here, too, much stress need not be laid upon the fact that the Emperor sympathises with the "無爲". As a matter of fact he does not declare himself for either one definitely, and, of course, the question is left undecided whether Ch'ien Lung was an actual believer at all. His education and the training of his mind, together with his originally independent character, would certainly allow one to conclude that he was, like his enlightened grandfather, merely a clever actor in appearing to manifest beliefs where there were none.

The next phrases: "Those who do not persevere, do not attain the way. The way is never-ceasing effort," form perhaps connecting links between the preamble and the intimation that the Lama followed the "wu-wei." He was one who ever since his beginning had persevered in the true way, which consists in mental detachment from mundane things. The whole painful journey (the 無始刼 has here the idea of both tremendous space and time,—kalpas without beginning") was undertaken out of compassion, in order to show the multitudes of China the true way, to detach their minds from the world, and especially from the external forms of the religion nursed by the "yu-wei."

The Emperor here, it will be noticed, does not claim that the Pan-ch'an came to assist in the celebration of his "萬壽," as he rather complacently relates in his letter to the Dalai Lama.

Next, the Emperor extols the extraordinary capacities and the great merits of the Lama. The "圓覺" "yüan chüeh" is a watchword of Buddhist vernacular, applied to the Pratyêka Buddhas, those ascetics who have attained Buddhaship individually and are usually deprived of the ability to save others. It will be explained later on that the Lama was not lacking in this capacity.

The Emperor enumerates attributes of the Lama which are again watchwords of Buddhists, and especially of the "wu-wei." He is the one "who adds to the eternal Radiance the eternally burning lamp of the law of Buddhism." This could be done only if he is credited with the faculties which distinguish the eminent exponents of the "wu-wei," as characterized by Edkins thus: "If there is light with in me, it illuminates all heaven and earth. If my own nature be always bright, heaven will never become dark."

Another such attribnte is described in the phrase "his benefit was all pervading alike to heaven and earth," just as we find it often expressed: "The pure doctrine of the 'wu-wei' is pure incense, pervading all heaven and earth." And the honorific designation of the Holy Man in the heading of the inscription "The Pure and Peaceful One" (淸淨) appears likewise in a work attributed to the founder of the "無爲教" in China' the 淸淨卷.

Likewise, the Emperor relates that he built the Lama a Palace in Jehol, like his dwelling in Tashi-lhunpo, "to enable him to peacefully indulge in his meditations." The quiet indulgence in meditation is the main characteristic of the "wu-wei."

Then comes the brief statement of the journey of the Lama to Peking, his ensuing death there, and the sending back of his earthly remains to his native country.

The next phrases: "On bending the fingers to count from his coming to see us till his death, and from his death till the sending back to Hou Tsaug, it amounts to about 100 days altogether. The true inwardness of the cause of his going and coming one cannot explain. Therefore We order, etc. etc.." contain an allusion to the law of causation (因緣 yin-yüan).

"Yin-yüan" is perhaps one of the most frequently used watchwords in Buddhist books. To quote for instance from the 法苑珠林 (布施湯葯飲食以是因緣壽命未應盡橫死, and 各起猛利殺害之心由此因緣, etc.) or from the 金剛般若波羅密經: (以是因緣得福多不如是世尊此人以是因緣得福甚多 and 復以何因緣得大堅固力, etc.).

These necessarily forthcoming effects of causes, originated in previous existences, rule the whole system of the world, as believed by Chinese Buddhists and make of the 因緣, a system of fatality as compelling as that of Mohammedan fatalism, though the latter takes cognizance only of effects and neither seeks nor recognizes causes. The Lama having undertaken the risks of such a long

journey to add to the prestige of the Lamaist Church and Buddhism, he (the Emperor) does not understand why he was not allowed to carry out his scheme. The 因緣 must answer for it.

The following statements regarding the peace and the prosperity of the people, which were also shared by the Lamaist Church in China, give evidence of a certain complacence on the part of the Emperor, who wishes to point out the blessings to the Empire of the reign of the Manchu dynasty, whose sovereigns had pacified it after long struggles, and had restored order after the defeat of the Kalmuks, (Turguts), Sungars (Dsungars), Khoshoits, Oelöts, and, last but not least, the Khalkha Mongols.

The descriptton of the adoration and reverence of the Mongolian princes and chieftains, humiliating themselves before the Lama and naturally also before the Emperor, seems to be given with satisfaction by him. Perhaps he is recollecting here the days when the Empire, under the reign of his grandfather, passed through some thrilling experiences, when the general 吳三桂 plotted against the Throne, after his disgrace, and stirred up the provinces of Yün-nan, Ssū-ch'uan, Kuei-chou, Fuh-kien and Kuang-tung, in order to extinguish the Manchu dynasty; and the Khalkha Mongols under the successors of Chinghiz and Kublai Khan profited by this thrilling period to attempt the conquest of Peking with their hordes.

The people also were eager to get sight of the Lama on his entrance into the capital, as he was considered by everybody to be a reincarnation of the Holy Teacher and Reorganizer of the Yellow Church, Tsongkhaba (the

6th or 9th according to Koeppen), and secondly, as he was looked upon as the one who had in the highest degree earned merit in life and had attained the aim of all: Bodhisatship on earth.

It is interesting to note how the Emperor manages to combine this distinguished representative of the Lamaist Church with the particular beliefs of Buddhists, which in his days prevailed in China. As a living Buddha who had attained enlightenment on earth, the Teshoo Lama was appointed to be the authoritative teacher and commentator of the law. The cult followed by the "yu-wei," which indulged in vain outward exhibitions "such as the use of images, idolatrous rituals, consisting in the burning of paper, offering of presents, performing services for the release of souls, in order to avoid calamity, destroy sin, increase happiness and prolong life," and was stigmatized by the Sacred Edict of K'ang Hsi, still remained in vigor and apparently was at its apogée then. Now it appears from the Emperor's conclusion that the Holy Lama was the "Expected One", to encourage the "wu-wei" and to gradually lead the misguided "yu-wei" away from the above useless practices, towards the true path, and after his death the people would find themselves obliged to seek salvation by indulging in unaided, individual speculations. Hence the realization of the Emperor of the despair of the people at the loss of their teacher, and his attempt to comfort them with the assurance that although the Lama seems to be dead he yet lives in his teachings. Thus he claims, in a certain way, immortality for him, according to the ideas of the Northern Buddhists, who declared that

Buddha entering the Nirwana, where there is neither death, nor life, has not died, because he lives in his teachings.

The Emperor's idea could have been based on the words of Buddha as repeated in Buddhist works, as the 佛祖統記: "Though I have entered the Nirvana, it has not been a complete Nirvana, therefore you ought to know the law that certainly remains, the unchanging law."

From another more material point of view, however, it would be inaccurate to use the term immortality. I refer here to the explanation of Mr. Beal, when speaking of the first sermon preached by Buddha, and recounted by Asvagosha. It is said here: "..... Tath â gata on this auspicious day has set revolving that which never yet revolved, 'and far and wide for gods and men has opened wide the gate amatam' I prefer leaving this last word untranslated, for it would be misleading to render it by our word 'immortality,' and yet it means deathlessness, or, according to Buddhaghosha, the great southern authority, it signifies that condition which 'not being born, does not decay nor die" and later, "..... In fact, the whole creation is brought within the same power and from the lowest to the highest, for 'all living,' the teaching of the great sage is made serviceable."

The references made by the Emperor to the Lama's unceasing proclamation of the law by teaching and explaining the three conveyances, are, taken as they stand in the text, not exactly in support of the Emperor's argument, that the Lama was a representative of the "wu-wei," since the wu-wei's characteristics lie in not displaying activity. As a representative of the Yellow Church,

moreover, which was always and par excellence a religion of much outward show to attract the masses, he certainly could not entirely disregard its methods, which consist in idolatrous rituals, charlatanism and all kinds of delusions. This indicates that the Emperor had not definitely embraced the cause of the "wu-wei," as also his general ideas and the environments of his life would not have allowed it.

However, I believe that the 宗乘 does not mean here, "to observe the three conveyances" but "to observe the esoteric ideas of Buddhism," and I believe it particularly as the Emperor, later on, when he speaks of the Lama's delivering his prayers, etc., to his excellent disciple 高弟羅卜藏敦珠布 adds: "Just as Buddha did, when he said: 'I have already committed to the trust of Mahâkâs'yapa the complete and unsurpassed doctrine of the heart, in order that you may have a firm reliance upon which to lean." The esoteric school 宗門, as is known, has often pretended that by this declaration Buddha gave them 'their' doctrine, the doctrine of the heart, the mystic doctrine, "which was only for the advanced disciples, like Mahâkâs'yapa and others" (Edkins).

The doctrine has never been laid down as a whole in books, but some of the sûtras give a good digest of the chief views and its metaphysics, such as the "Fa-hua-ching" 法華經. the 金剛經 "Chin-kang-ching" and the 楞嚴經 "Lêng-yen-ching." The following sentence is taken from the "金剛經" the "Diamond Sûtra" and I give it on purpose, as it will be seen that the views sustained in it are quite as familiar to the esoterics, as they are to the wu-wei, "Reject 10,000 entanglements and to cleanse your mind and

actions; within, let your heart be completely quieted; without, let your life be entirely pure. So, altogether, you will become aware of the true source, and so, by thorough study, you will grasp to the utmost the principle of the law"

屏息萬緣則意業淨也內心既寂外境俱閑方契悟於眞源庶研窮於法理.

A clear argument supporting the Emperor's sympathies for the "wu-wei" is expressed in the apostrophe: "How is it that you don't know, that by pointing out the images and speculating on their origin you will not be able to obtain the proofs of enlightenment. And seizing the ladder and hunting for the path, you cannot ascend the mountain of instruction!"—The "Yu-wei" with their lavish employment of images can thus never climb [the "efficacious mountain" 靈山. This mountain probably means the Ghridhrakûta mountain (靈鷲山) where, according to tradition, Kâs'yapa was instructing 500 disciples at the time when he was apprised by an earthquake of Buddha's entrance into Nirvâna. We find another reference likewise in the Fa-hua-ch'ing, which states that Buddha was residing at the city Rajagriha, on the mountain Ghridhrakûta, with 2,000 Bikshus, all of them Arhats, at the time when he explained the Sûtras of the Great Development, (vide Edkins "Chinese Buddhism.")

Another reference is made in the Mahâvagga, where the story of Buddha's meeting with the elders of 80,000 villages of the Kingdom of Magadha is related. After the King of Magadha, Seniya Bimbisâra, had instructed them in the rules of the visible world, he dismissed them, directing them

to the World Honoured One, with the words; 'He, the World Honoured One, will instruct you in the affairs of the hereafter.' Then the 80,000 elders went to the Mount Gijjhakûta (Geierspitze) where Buddha was staying (Oldenberg, "Buddha"). Finally it is the mountain, where Pis'una or Mâra in the form of a vulture hindered the meditation of Ananda. (Eitel "Handbook of Chinese Buddhism").

The Lama, who was exoteric and a "wu-wei," striving unceasingly for the highest attainments has ascended this mountain, just as Buddha had ascended it. This achievement was due to his efforts continued since his beginning in India, as a wandering priest, "not wasting, however, his time too long in ascetic life," as the terms 無廢* seem to indicate, though the term 圓覺 designates the Pratyêka Buddhas (see above), who, according to the belief, attain, as hermits, Buddhaship individually, but are not able to save others. But this restriction is not applied in every case.

Edkins in "Chinese Buddhism" says: "When a period occurs in the world's history, without a Buddha, Pratyêkas appear, and arriving at the perception of doctrine in his absence, take his place as teacher till he arrives." The reference made here to the Lama's previous early days intends to explain that the Lama had not long idled his time as a small religious mendicant, as a Bikshu, but had quickly abandoned vice and constantly aiming at virtue, "got the eyes of the pure law" as Buddhist vernacular has it, and came to the right knowledge of Buddha's doctrine, becoming

*vide inscription, part II. 蓋自飛錫乾竺時早已了然無廢

a sort of Pu'sa, 菩薩, thus displaying "perseverence" in attaining the way. This perseverence might of course refer to both "activity in virtue" or in "meditation," but the second interpretation seems more congruous with the Emperor's idea.

The next paragraph in the inscription deals with the appointment of a substitute by the Lama, in order that the wheel of the law might be kept constantly revolving. The 聖武記 records that the Lama had left behind his excellent disciple 留其高弟子羅卜藏敦珠布 (per analogiam inscriptionis), to be the head of 20 Bandis 領班第二十人 (priests of second order placed under the 格隆 (Ko) (Kê lung) to reside in the Temple of Tashi-lhunpo and to transmit the Sutras and S'astras of Hou Tsang, choosing besides 180 native Lamas of China to learn. (住持札什倫布廟傳授後藏經律選內地喇嘛百八十人習焉). It is understood, that the Tashi-lhunpo here and in the text of the inscription is the Temple built by the Emperor at Jehol, on the model of that in Tashi-lhunpo, in Tibet.

By this appointment the gap occasioned by his loss was filled. Others came, assuming the task to revolve the wheel of the law after his death. The contrast, which appears to be obvious, between this statement and the other above one, that "the Lama, although having entered the quiet place, is still and surely proclaiming the conveyances" is, after all, only a seeming one. Indeed the appointment of a successor or successors does not destroy his influence on posterity, which is credited to him by the Emperor's saying "that he had ascended the mountain of instruction." This

may be perhaps only a mark of his great admiration for the Lama's extraordinary capacities and "all pervading wisdom" and may be even only used figuratively.

Herewith the arguing of the Emperor has come to an end. The last sentences are only an apostrophe to the people.

The Lama's whole appearance and career, his pure, unsullied life, his high moral achievements, his teachings and proclamation of the unsurpassed law, which is that of the "heart" seeking the way not in outward means and shows, but in inward striving for the attainment of the path, his committing this doctrine to his best disciple out of compassion for mankind, in order that it might be henceforward propagated by Chinese priests....., seem to be to the Emperor a strong enough argument in favor of that religous party, which states, that the law lies in "inaction." And yet there are some who don't believe that "those of the action are not those of tbe law, and that those who don't persevere do not attain the way!"

Undoubtedly this apostrophe is intended for the unlearned masses only. The higher classes, who gained their enlightenment from the study of the classics, probably did take as much interest then in divisions and discussions of similar kind as in our days.

Besides, not every one regarded him with the same eyes, as did the Emperor, providing, indeed, that the latter did really consider him as one who had "rejected the 10,000 entanglements" and "quieted his heart."

It is easy to observe from the 聖武記 's account of the visit of the enlightened Hô-shang from the Western

Hills, as mentioned above, that the great honors shown to this chief of the Yellow Church met with disapproval in the ranks of his fellow priests of the Buddhist creed in China. So, either the Lama was not really the supporter of the then prevailing faction of Buddhists in China, or this prevailing faction was not that favored in the inscription by the Emperor's approval. But, after all, did the Emperor really consider him as this supporter, and does he really range himself on the side of the wu-wei? The references to the Lamas "exertions" in undertaking such a perilous journey for the benefit of the people and prosperity of the Yellow Church, which is properly the religion of "exhibition" and of the "10,000 entanglements;" his "activity" in proclaiming the conveyances, his early "busy life," etc., etc., seem to be a mighty counter-argument in favor of his attachment to the "yu-wei."

The Emperor's whole exposition of his argument, although mostly supported by watchwords only, is, from the point of view of the barrister, who must be able to equally advocate the pro and contra, a splendid one. The last apostrophe resembles a sword of two edges. It is liable to cut on both sides, but is at a loss where to strike the blow, hence the Emperor leaves the question open, whether activity or meditation is required to serve Buddha. He only deems it appropriate and stimulating to posterity to commemorate the Lama's visit and mission by the erection of a temple at Jehol and a D'agoba at Peking.

As for the further discussion of the question, he very wisely accords also to churchmen the privilege generally enjoyed by grammarians only, to be "always in fighting trim."

APPENDIX WITH EXPLANATION OF THE NAMES OF THE DALAI AND TASHI LAMAS.

Prof. Dr. Friedrich Hirth [1a] states the Chinese system of transcribing foreign sounds (names) to be in some way a "circulus vitiosus," and he considers the modern dialects in Chinese to be the assistants to enable one to disentangle one's self from this "circulus vitiosus." He likewise pointed out the great value of the terms derived from foreign languages, which are preserved in the form of transliterations. The transliterations of the Holy texts of the Buddhists from Sanskrit and Pâli contain good specimens of these transliterated names and their importance for the translators of foreign works is materially enhanced by Stan. Julien's treatise on the way to spell Sanskrit names in Chinese texts. [1b] Hirth, Parker and others have likewise contributed some other valuable specimens of transliterations from the languages of the Turk-Tartar people. We possess, furthermore, transliterations of names

1a.—Vide his "Sinologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Türkvöl ker." The plea of Hirth to demonstrate a similarity of Attila's genealogy as recorded by Joannes Thuroczyanus (the Hungarian Joannes de Thuróczy) and the list of the Hiungnu-Regents in the 史記 of 司馬遷, in the 前漢書 and in the 後漢書 is a proof of his keen linguistic discernment, although no proof of the fact of this similarity.

1b.—A work of high standard, being a guide for the reconstruction of Sanskrit names is also Eitel's "Handbook for the Student of Chinese Buddhism."

from the Mongolian, Arab, etc., languages. Among the Chinese glossaries I mention especially the 西域同文志 and the 遼金元三史國語解 as two good standard auxiliary works for the transliteration of Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu, Arab, etc., terms. Another useful assistant for transliterations from Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian, etc. is also the 欽定同文韻統. E. von Zach [2] in his emendations of the Giles Dictionary has supplied us with an excerpt from the first, which is a very rare work. I have tried to give in the following, an explanation of the names in the lists of the two Chief Lamas of Tibet, and hope that the references to the Chinese transliterations may be of some use for corresponding researches. Waddell's respective lists have served to me as a base for comparisons, to which I added (passim) the names as presented by the Tibetan ₀Jigs-med nam-mk'a (vide Huth's "Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei)" Körösi Csoma, Grünwedel and others.

(1.)—The first in the list of the Dalai Lamas is "dGe-dun Grub-pa"="Siddhasamgha" Skt. (Huth) the first of the Tibetan Lamas to whom the title "rGyelva" "Jina," victor, has been applied.

"dGe" virtue, good morals; "dGe-'dun"="Samgha" Skt: general name of the clergy. From the same rootword derive also "dGe-ldan," Ga-ldan or Gahdan="place of joys, where the Bodhisattvas are residing before their last re-incarnation," "the Tushita-Heaven," "name of the monastery eastward from Lhasa built by Tson K'apa in 1409;" and the name of the sect dGe-

2.—"Lexicographische Beiträge" E. v. Zach, Peking 1902. 2 vol.

lugs-pa=" lit., the sect of the "virtuous," who wear yellow caps — "Grub"="Siddha" Skt. or "Siddhârtha" or "Arthas'iddhî" or "Sarvârtthasiddha" (vide Eitel")[3] he who has obtained Sidhî, he who became perfect through wonderful power; "Siddhî"=Tib. "grub-pa,"=magic powers, (vide Grünwedel [4]) not to be confounded with "groba"="satva" Skt. living, being; "grub-c'en"=Mahâsiddha" a wizard priest, follower of the Yoga principles, Yogî; "Don-grub"="Siddhârtha" °Buddha's name as a prince and frequently used as a title for High Lamas (see Pan-ch'en Lama No 3), "Don (-yod) grub (-pa)"= [5] °"Amoghasiddha "Skt: one of the five Celestial Jinas (Pancajati Jinas); "Yongrub"="Parinishpanna" Skt. completely perfect, the unchangeable and unassignable true existence which is also the scope of the path, the "summum bonum," the absolute [6] (see Waddell); therefore dGe-'$_{o}$dun-grub-pa"="Siddhasamgha" Skt: [7] he who has a wonderful perfect community.

"dGe-'$_{o}$dun" is also vulgarly used as "gen-dun" [8] and this brings it nearer to the Chinese "kên-tun." The Chinese historiograph of the 聖武記 renders the name

3.—" Handbook of Chinese Buddhism" p. 150, 152.

4.—" Mythologe ides Buddhismus" p. 31, 36.

5.—Grünwedel's opus idem p. 99.

6.—" Lamaism of Tibet" p. 126.

7.—But in W. Wassiljew's "Der Buddhismus" p. 85 "dGe-$_{o}$'dun-$_{o}$p'el"="Kaljânavardhana" Skt. name of the first propagator of the Mahâjâna system in Kashmir; see also W. W. Rockhill's "The Life of the Buddha" p. 13. "dGe-hphel?" = "Kalyanavardana" Amritâ's son.

8.—See Jäschke's "Handwörterbuch der Tibetischen Sprache" p. 87.

by "°Tun-kên Chu-pa," but the transliteration of the "tun" as first, and the "kên" as second character, seems to me only an inadvertent mistake of the transcriber, or it is perhaps a misprint. The 遼金元三史國語解 commenting upon the term "根敦" states as follows: 唐古特語僧也遼史作懇篤.

Feh, f'eh, w'eh, w'eh, keh, k'eh, geh g'eh, dgeh or dge and other similar sounds cannot be accurately rendered in Chinese; hence "kên" has been evidently selected by the transliterator to match the "n" in "tun," which stands here as the equivalent of "dun" or "'hdun" in Tibetan. In the "grub-pa" the "chu" 珠 had to take the place of the "gru" which Chinese cannot pronounce. The "grub" is nearly always transliterated so, or sometimes with the 布 "p(u)" abjoined to the 珠.[9]

(2.)—The second Dalai Lama's name is= "dGe-$_{o}$'dun rGya-mt'so" or with all his attributes "rJe t'ams-cad mk'yen-pa dGe-$_{o}$'dun rGya-mt'so "=" Samghasâgara" Skt.[10] Koeppen[11] translates his name "Geistlicher Ocean." "rJe"=saint, sublime, "ârya" Skt. as in the name of the

9.—See E. v. Zach's, 'Lexicographische Beiträge" p. 92. I. vol. 薩木珠布 bsam-grub, and p. 93. 珠光 gru-gong, p. 84. 篤珠布 dngos-grub;

10.—See Huth "Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei" p. 203.

11.—"Die Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche" p. 133. "Rgya-mt'so"="océan" serviteur du Buddha futur, Maitreya (Mdo I.) see for this Léon Feer's "vocabulaire de l'analyse du Kandjour" (Annales du Musée Guimet) and ibid. Sâgara océan, roi des Nâgas, (questionneur de Mdo XII, 2°, 3°, 4°.)

reformer of the Lamaist religion "rJe Rin-po-c'e" i.e. "Tson K'apa"; "t'ams-cad mk'yen-pa" Tib.=omniscient=sarvajna" Skt.; [12] "rGya-mt'so"="Sâgara" Skt. "Dalai" Mong. ocean. The Chinese transliteration of this name is: 根敦嘉穆錯. The presence of the final and numerous compound superadded consonants, duplex characters in Tibetan, made the task very difficult for the Chinese transliterator. As is known, only n, ng, (n) rh (êrh), are used as final consonants in the Northern Chinese, while some dialects in the Southern Chinese (Amoy, Swatow, Canton, Hakka) allow also the use of k, p, t and m besides the above as final consonants. [13] Moreover the aggregation of consonants is with some few exceptions (as ts, tsz, dz) impossible in both the Northern and Southern Chinese dialects. Hence, when transliterating the word "mt'so," the transliterator had to cut out the "m" from the rest, and as this could not stand alone, he had to add a vowel. The "mu" becomes thus a 半音 which are frequent in Chinese transliterations of foreign names. It is interesting that in the Records of the Ming Dynasty the Tibetan "rgya-mt'so" is also transcribed with 堅錯.[14]

12.—See also W. W. Rockhill id op. p. 173.....Now there was at Vaisâli a sthavira called Sarvakâma (Thams-chad hdod-pa), etc.....T'ams-cad mk'yenpa stands also together with "zigs" seer. f.i. vide Huth op. id. p. 302. "T'ams-cad mk'yen-zigs c'en-po, etc." der grosse Allwissend-Allsehende, for "T'ams-cad" see also Waddell's op. id. p. 346 "T'am-ch'ad-skyob" "Visvabhu,"=One of the Seven Heroic Buddhas or Tathágatas.

13.—See C Arendt's "Handbuch der Nordchinesischen Umgangssprache" I. p. 244.

14.—See in the 聖武記.

(3).—The third Dalai's name is "bSod-nams-rGya-mt'so" or with all his attributes "rJe bSod-nams rGya-mt'so dpal bzan-po"="Punyasâgaraçrîbhadra" Skt. [15] Grünwedel calls him also "mk'as-grub bSod-nams rGya-mt'so." [16]

"bSod-nams"=happiness, virtue, moral or religious merit. [17] In the Chinese glossary 遼金元三史國語解 we find the following note: 索諾木唐古特語福也遼史作偹奴—"dpal" adj=noble, brave, is a title applied frequently to some divinities and to saints, as also to great cities; [18] and also as subst. Glanz, Segen, Adel, hfg. als Epitheton; [19] Çrî or S'rî Skt. explained by 吉祥 lit. lucky omen, a title given to many deities (Sarasvatî, etc.) [20]—"Bzan-po"=Bhadra Skt. explained by 善 lit. virtuous, or by 賢 lit. a sage. [21]

The Chinese transliteration is 索諾木嘉穆錯 or 鎖南嘉穆錯明史所稱鎖南堅錯也. The "d" in

15.—See Huth's op. id. p. 2 0; for "Punya" see Waddel's op. id. p. 30, footnote 3,; "Çribhadra" also "Çrimânbhadra" this latter for the Tib. "dpal-ldan Czanpo," see Wassiljew's op. id. p. 294 (Name des Nâgârdschuna, Çâkjaçrî u.s.w.)

16.—Grünwedel "Die Mythologie des Buddhismus" p. 80; "mKa'sgrub" he who attained perfection of knowledge, see also Jäschke's op. id. p. 55, "der Gelehrte," "auch wie hochweise." The Sanskrit transliteration coul dbe perhaps "Munîndras iddha" although "Munîndra" according to Huth, T'ubpai dban-po, op. id. p. 10. I also suggest "Mahâvâdî" see my remarks on the 1st Pan-ch'an Lama.

17.—See Körösi Csoma's "Tibetan and English Dictionary" p. 127.

18.—See same authors op. id. p. 71.

19.—See Jäschke's op. id. p. 327.

20.—See Eitel's op. id. p 158.

21.—See same author's op id. p. 29.

"bSod" as a final, is even in the Tibetan pronunciation nearly always dropped, and more modern Tibetan grammars indicate its place by an apostrophe (Graham Sandberg, B. A., in his "Handbook of colloquial Tibetan") So also the "s" at the end of a syllable and styled second final after the low toned aspiratae gha, bha, and the nasalae nga, ma, remains silent. Accordingly the Chinese transcriber could eliminate these consonants. The "no" in 索諾木 is no 半音 but the "mu" is. In the above quoted Chinese glossary (遼金元三史國語解) these half sounds are printed at the side near the others, indicating that they are only stop-gaps.

I refer under this heading to the title "Vajradhara" (vide part I.), which has been likewise conferred upon this Dalai Lama by Altan Khân, when the Lama visited him in Mongolia in 1575. The full title was: Dalai bLama Vajradhara (Tib. rDo-rje c'an Talai bLama), which Huth translates with "Allumfassender Herr, Vajrahalter." [22] (Vide my translation part I.) The bestowing of such or similar titles seem to have been common in the Tibetan and Mongolian Lamaist history.

We find another example in the titles, "Indian Devaputra,"[23] (Tib. lHai sras-po), Tis ri[24a] etc. conferred by Hw obilai

22.—See Huth's op. id. p. 223 Abel Rémusat translates it: "le suprême et immense porteur de sceptre" see his "Mélanges posthumes d'histoire et de litterature orientales" p. 449.

23.—See same author's op. id- p. 150. 156.

24a.— "Tis ri" the Tibetan sde-srid" a regent.

Khân upon the Sa-skya Pandita ° Gromgon ₀ P'ags-pa. [24b] He granted him likewise the whole country of Tibet. The Chinese transliteration of the name 瓦赤喇怛喇 follows the general rules for the transliteration of Sanskrit names.

(4.)—The next Dalai's name is "Yon-tan rGya-mt'so" or "Yon-tan rGya-mt'so-dpal bzan-po"="Gunasâgaracrîbhadra" Skt. [25]

"Yon-tan"=skill, good quality [26];Vorzug, Fertigkeiten, Kenntnisse, mystische, phantastische Eigenschaften. [27]—Grünwedel translates it by "Tugend." Its equivalent in Sanskrit is "Guna" [求那]. [28] For the explanation of the other attributes see above No. 2 and 3. Koeppen's translation of the whole name is "Verdienst Ocean."

The Chinese transliteration is 雲丹嘉穆錯。 The "yon" has in the pronounciation a sound like "yüan,"

24*b*.— For this Lama's biography, see same author's op. id. p. 139. °P'ags pa=noble, holy, reverend, ârya. Waddell translates it "Highness, Sublimity," see his op. cit. p. 38. Its meaning is also "eminent," "wonderful," as in Huth's op. id. p. 141. The full name of this Lama, who had converted Khubilai Khân to Buddhism in 1261 is Lama Dharmarâja °P'ags-pa Blo-gros rGyal-mt'san Ârya Matidhavaja Skt.; see also Grünwedel's op. cit. p. 63. "Gro-mgon," Tibetan for the "Protector of human beings."

25.—See Huth's op. id. p. 232.

26.—See Körösi Csoma's op. id. p. 227.

27.—See Jäschke's op. cit. p. 553.

28.—See Eitel's op. cit. p. 61. His translation of the term is=nature, looked upon as an active principle, operating in the chadâyatanas (the 6 dwellings or entrances 六處 or 六入.

where the "a" however is scarcely to be heard, hence the Chinese transcriber writing "yün."

(5.)—"Nag-dban blo-bsan rGya-mt'so" is the fifth and greatest of the Dalai Lamas. His name appears as rGyaldban lna-pa c'en-po "according" to "$_{o}$Iigs-med nam mk'a." [29]="Ârya Lôkêçvara" Skt. This is not a translation of the above name, but only a Sanskrit reconstruction suggested by Huth; (the Tibetan of this, would be P'agspa Iig-rten dban-p'yug) the "Lôkêçvara" or "Lôkêç(s)vararâdja" is considered as an epithet of Avalôkitêç(s)vara, while "ârya's" meaning is "holy" (聖) (vide above), attribute of all the Patriarchs. "Ñag" speech; "dbang" or "dban"=powerful, sovereign; "nag-dban" a fine speaker, orator; [30] "blo" mind, intellect, genius; [31] "bs-(bz)an" good; "blo-bsan" one having a good mind, understanding, sage; "rGyal-dban" (dbanpa power, dban-po sovereign) "rGyal-wa," "rGyel-va" victor, yina; "lna-pa" the fifth; "c'en-po" great.—A more literally accurate reconstruction of his name in Sanskrit would be "Vâgârusumatisâgara" or "Mahâpañcamajina." [32] The Chinese transcription of his

29.—See Huth's op. id. p. 265.

30.—See Körösi Csoma's op. cit. p. 40.

31.—See ibid p. 100.

32.—"Nag-dban"="vâgâru," eloquent, also "vâgmin," "vakpatu," "vâkpali," vide likewise "vâgdêvî" and vâgdêvatâ" being the goddess of eloquence "Saraswatî," (other names of her are "Mahâlaxmî," Mahâçukla." and "Çrî") (S'rî); another epithet with analogous meaning is "Mahâpratibhâna i.e. one who discourses pleasurably; "blo (gros) bzan="Sumati," the second son of Tchandra sârya pradîpa (name applied to several Buddhas;) for "sâgara," vide above No. 2, "lnapa" ="pancama" the 5th.

name is: 納 or 那旺羅卜藏嘉穆錯 or 羅卜藏嘉穆錯. The use of "na" is here like in the transliterations of Manchu names, for instance "Na ö mo" 納額默, which is the honorific attribute of the Empresses of the 遼 Dynasty (滿洲語納地也額默母也后尊稱又作耨斡葵). The meaning is "mother of the earth" (地母)。

The "g" is not rendered in the Chinese and it is not quite easy to give an explanation for this omission. In the transliteration from other languages only the pu, mu, wu, and la, pa and the aspirated guttural k'ê (khê or kh'êh), [33] were used as 半音. This is never the case with ma, mo, me, meh, na, no, ne, neh, nu, ka, ga, ku, gu, kê (kêh), kë, gë, (gëh), gë (not aspirated), etc. These latter mostly do not exist in the Manchu and Mongolian languages, and it is known that the transcription from these languages is the most familiar with Chinese authors. But this is only an argument for the dropping of the "g" and does not claim to be an explanation, as it could be perhaps accounted for by accident. The "dbang" (dban) is rendered in the Chinese by 旺. [34]

The "b" in "bs-(bz)an" stands for the transliteration under the same rule as the "m" in "mt'so" above. The non-existence of duplex characters and compound consonants in Chinese necessitates a division of these characters. The "pu" and "mu" are here "pan yins." A similar use of "pu" is that in the Manchu words

33.—This latter in nak', nëk' (the Hungarian nök) nik' (nick'), chok', chik', chuk', etc.

33.—Vide also 旺 [唐古特語權也].

綽卜鄂博 (綽布滿洲語高出之貌鄂博蒙古語堆石以爲祭處也又作楚阿不) heighten, raise; [35] and札卜庫 (滿洲語小箭囊也又作札不哥) a quiver,—The "z," which in Tibetan sounds like the "z" in the English zest, zero, zeal, or the Hungarian "z." (Zala, Zemplém, Zágráb) cannot be rendered in Chinese, and "ts" is substituted for it—one of the few double consonants Chinese possesses.

(6.)—The next Dalai in Waddell's list is "Ts" ans-dbyans rGya-mt'so. In Grünwedel's opus cit., his name is written with the attribute "Rin-c'en" and Koeppen adds to it the honorific title "bLo-bsan." "Ts'ans-pa" (Ts'hangs-pa) pure, holy, Brahma [37] (vide Körösi Csoma's op cit.), "Ts'ans. dbyans" (chan-ma) Harmonia, Saraswatî," Brahma's wife.

I could not find the accepted Sanskrit name in any of the foreign records or glossaries and should therefore suggest as a reconstruction of it one of the following: "Ratna Brahmánîsâgara" or "Ratna Brahmâcrîsâgara" or "Ratna Crîsâ gara," "Ratna"="rin-c'en" jewel;

35.—See 遼史國語解 This is to also the Mongolian word "obo"=heaps of stones, etc, piled up for purposes of veneration. The Tibetan term is "rdo-ꞌjog"?

36.—See in W.W. Rockhill's op. cit. p. 50, footnote 2. "Ts'ans" =sacred.

37.—One of the so-called Eight Defenders of the faith, also the "8 fiends" (in Tib "Drag-gsed)" is called "mgon-po dkar-po T'san-spa" see Grünwedel's op. cit. p. 164) for "dbyans-can-ma" vide likewise Huth's op. cit. p 188. Saraswatî has become in the Buddhist Pantheon the female energy (Cakti) of Manjuçrî. Her name in Mongolian is "ägäsiktü äkä."

"Brahmanî" the female energy of Brahmâ, who still preserves a Place in the Buddhist Pantheon, although this is only a secondary one. In "Brahmâcrîsâgara" the meanings of both "Ts'ans" and "dbyans" are taken each separately, and it is left out of consideration, that in Buddhism "Saraswatî" has turned out to be the female energy of the Bodhisattva Manjuçrî—"Çrî" or "S'rî" is an abbreviation for "Manjuçrî," or it is a title given to "Saraswatî." [38]

The 聖武記 does not take notice of the name of this Lama, but places the Lama who was installed by La tsang Khân (ruler of the Khoshoit (和碩特), who had settled themselves northwestward from Lha-sa (Lassa) next to the 5th under the name of "Ñag-dban ye-shès rGya-mts'so" (伊西嘉穆錯). This latter was, previous to his enthronement, a Lama of 博克達山. * [39]

38.—Vide Eitel's op, cit. p. 158. Koeppen in his "Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche" p. 188, translates his name "der kostbare Weise des reinen Wohllaut's-Ocean."

39.—Bogdo (written also Bogda or Pogta as in Huth's op. cit. passim) is a Mongolian title to designate Majesty="Âryа Bhadanta" Skt. "rJe-btsun" Tib.=Reverend, Holy. It is the attribute of the great Lamas of Urga (Bogdo-Gegen). This mountain is to be identified with the "lCags-po-ri"="Iron mountain," southwestward from the Potala in Lha-sa, and is especially consecrated to the cult of Mahâcakra-Vajrapâni (Grünwedel's op. cit. p. 161). According to Koeppen, it is only one of the three peaks of the Pôtala on which bTson-k'a-pa is supposed to have delivered to his disciples discourses on medicine. At present, it is said also to contain the residence of the Dalai Lama. For "lCags-ri" Skt. "Lohagiri" see Huth's op. id. p- 11, footnote I.

I refer here likewise to the 置克里郭 "lc'agsri—sgo" "Thor zum Eisenberg" of Zach (vide his op. cit. I p. 89). The gate in question may be perhaps the gate of the lamasery on this mountain, which is also mentioned by Rockhill (in Sarat Candra Das "Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet" p. 196, in a footnote)—"It is strange"—so he says,—"that our author "(Candra Das) tells us nothing of this famous lamasery of "Chagpori. We know, however, that it is one of the oldest in "Tibet, that the medical school is attended by some 300 "students, and that it supplies with medicines, most of which "are simples collected by the lamas themselves not only Lhasa, "but remote parts of Tibet and Mongolia. I have seen "remedies bought at Chagpori used in the Tsaidam, the Koko-"nor and all over Eastern Tibet."

The 聖武記 recording the troubles after the death of the 5th Dalai (which was kept concealed for a long time by the Regent in Lha-sa the De-pa 桑結), only mentions that the De-pa after having been threatened by the Emperor with a military invasion of Tibet, sent the Emperor for his defense a secret message. Therein he stated at last that the 5th Dalai had died, and that he had kept his death concealed for fear that the people would rise. He had delayed this announcement till the Re-incarnation of the late Dalai had attained his 15th year of age. (His name is not mentioned, but he is undoubtedly the 6th Dalai of Waddell's list). He also promised the Emperor to install this Re-incarnation within a term of ten months. Whether this enthronement had occurred or not is not recorded exactly, but the references to the dissatisfaction of the people with the election of a 紅教 lama (Red-sect lama, for the protégé-lama of the Depa belonged to this sect) allows it to be concluded that he had been enthroned, and had begun to lead such a dissolute life

immediately after his installation that the people would have preferred to see him dethroned again. Owing to the fact, however, that he was supported by the 桑結 Depa, they did not dare to oppose him.

La tsang Khân, the grandson of Gusri gegen Khân, attacked Lha-sa and executed the De-pa, imprisoning his protégé Dalai mock-king, who after some vicissitudes died.

This is a brief excerpt from the recorded historical incident, to which I only referred, as it was necessary to explain his substitution as the 6th Dalai by the Chinese historiograph. From the list of others, namely European, he is usually omitted, and the Lama mentioned under 6 of Waddell's list accepted as the 6th Dalai Lama. There are some, as Amiot, Hilarion, Koeppen, who do count him too, gaining their information from the reports of the members of the Catholic mission, which was established in Lha-sa in 1797.

The Sanskrit reconstruction of his name could be "Vâgârujñânasâgara." For "vâgâru" see my note No. 32. "Jñâna"=(Djñâna) "ye-sh'es"=knowledge, foreknowledge, supernatural intuition as the result of samâdhi (Eitel), science etc. * [40] In the Chinese glossary

40.—See Burnouf's Dictionary p. 274. "Jnâna" in the meaning of foreknowledge is one of the 10 Buddhist cardinal virtues (Paramitas). The Ekavyaharika, which was one of the two divisions originated after the schism of the Mahâsâng hika school (about 100 years after the death of Buddha Sakyamuni) asserted, that "with one wisdom (djnâna=ye-shès) the four truths (i.e. the four noble truths Ârya Satyani) are perfectly understood, etc." vide in Rockhill's op. cit. p. 188, and see also same author's "Udanavarga" chapter VI, p. 30.

遼金元三史國語解 we find a note with the transliteration and meaning of this term (see later). I think the 西域同文志 transcribes it "葉攝." The right transliteration according to the Tibetan would be "ye-shès,"- the "sh" being high-toned and aspirated. Both Csoma and Sandberg transcribe this character "sh"; Jäschke writes it "sa" (semi-vowel).

"Ye-shès" is a frequent attribute of Buddhist deities, saints and illustrious priests. So we read in Prof. Wassiljew's "Dogmen, Geschichte und Litteratur des Buddhismus" p. 294, that the disciples of the Mahâsâmghika school, who used the Prâkrit as their medium for communication and considered Kâçyapa as their teacher, etc., had their names mostly ending in "mitra," "Jñâna," "gupta," garbha, as in Dipam kardjñâna, etc. One of the supernatural male Bodhisats has it in its name, i.e. "Ye-shès bLama" (Iñanaguru) master of divine foreknowledge,[41] and Mañjuçrî wears it as attribute as the Mañjuçrî Jñânasatva ('Jam-dpal ye-shès sems-dpa) and so likewise one of the "Lord-Demons" "mGon-po p'yag-bzipa" called "ye-shès mgon-po" the Lord-Demon of wisdom, [42]; it frequently occurs in names of Lamas. [43]

(7.)—"Skal-bzan rGya-mt'so" is the next in the list. Grünwedel transcribes his name "bLo-bzan s'kal-ldan." This transcription seems to be, however, the less used. Körösi Csoma's and Huth's transliterations equalize that

41.—See Waddell's op. cit. p. 358.
42.—See Grünwedel's op. id. p. 175, 177.
43.—See at the 5th and 6th Pan-ch'an Lama.

of Waddell. The divergence is of course no great one as both "skal-bzan" and "s'kal-ldan" have the same meaning. The complete name of this Dalai is recorded by ₀Jigs-med nam-mk'a (vide Huth): "Tams-cad mk'yen-cañ ₀zigs-pa c'en-po bLo-bzañ bskal-bzañ rGya-mt'so."

"For "t'ams-cad mk'yen-pa" see above—"mk'yen-pa-cañ,=skilful, wise, "chañ"="chi(h)ñ" (with the low toned aspirated "aa" or "ha" before the n)=everything.[44]

"T'ams-cad mk'yen-ciñ"="sarvajña" Skt, "₀zigs-pa" =a seeing, "kun-₀zigs-pa"=all-seeing, "mk'yen-₀zigs" =knowing and seeing; the "₀zigs" not to be confounded with the "₀shigs" as in "de-bzhin-₀shigs"=lit. according to the Dead, to the Blessed ones i.e. "Tat'âgata" which is the attribute, of Buddha Çâkya-muni. Its equivalent in Sanskrit would be "lôka" or better "darça" "darçana" and "darçin"=the seer, the observer, hence "T'ams-cad ₀zigs-pa"="sarvadarçin;" "skal-bzan"=fortune, (skal=share, fortune, see Csoma's op. id.; bzan =good, fortunate). In Sanskrit "B'avya"[45] (Bhavya) or "B'aga" (or "Subhagâ" as translated in Schiefner's "Târanâtha, etc. etc." p. 84, 277.) This root "B'aga" is contained also in the name of the river Bhagirathi=

44.—See Csoma's op. id. p. 43.

45.—See in Huth's op. id. p. 101 and for bhavya=Legs-ldan ibid. p. 301. See also Schiefner's translation of "Târanâthas Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien" p. 136 where "legs-ldan" in its complete form "legs-ldan₀byed-pa"="Bhâvaviveka"—"Bhavya" in connection with "Skal-ldan ibid. p. 259. This translation is also adopted by Grünwedel.

skal-ldan shing-rta [46] by which is meant the "Ganga" river; for this see also Csoma's publication in the vol. XX part I. p. 41, et sequ. of the "Asiatic Researches"; also Feer's "vocabulaire de l'analyse du Kandjour" in the Annales du Musée Guimet. "Bhâgirathî"=skal-ldan çing-rta=fleuve voisin de Kapilavastu, lieu de naissance de Çâkya (Dulva IV 106.) The whole name's version would be: The Great All-knowing, All-seeing Sage, Ocean of Fortune."

Koeppen translates it "Weisheit-und Glücks-Ocean." The Sanskrit reconstruction could be: "Mahâsarvajña sarvadarçinsumatibhavyasâgara" or instead of the termination of the name "b'agasâgara."

The Chinese transliteration of it is: 噶爾藏嘉穆錯 The "s" in the Tibetan surmounting the "ka" (tenuis) is silent. The proper transliteration ought to be on the model of Lo-p(u)-tsang 羅卜藏, Ka-lo-pu-tsang 噶勒卜藏. However, owing to the rather difficult pronunciation, the "p(u)" was dropped and instead of the "lo" as suggested above, the transcriber used an "êrh." Thus the "r" takes here the place of "l." This method of substitution is not too frequent, but we find it used now and then, as in the

46.—See in Rockhill's "The Life of the Buddha" p. 11, when giving the origin of the Ikshvâku family it is said .....The Princes (i.e. the four sons of King Ikshvâku Virudhaka by his first wife, Râjyananda the son of his second wife being declared his successor) set out accompanied by their sisters and a great many people. They travelled toward the Himalaya mountains, and coming to the hermitage of the rishi Kapila, on the bank of the Bhagirathi, they built huts of leaves and fed on the produce of their hunting.

transcription of the name of the Tibetan monastery dGa-ldan, which is written in Chinese 噶爾丹, although the transcription 噶勒丹 can also be found.

While the list of the Dalai Lamas is so far established by contributions of Tibetan, Chinese and foreign sources, it is a much harder task to identify the names in the list of the Tashi Lamas. As had been already pointed out above, there are two lists in existence of these Lamas, of which, however, the one: (the supplementary list of Waddell) contains names whose bearers had practically not yet been so-called Pan-ch'an Grand Lamas, but had only held some post as monks of higher rank in Tashi-lhunpo or Ga-ldan.

The three first of the Chinese list belong to this supplementary list.

(1.)—The first is "mk'as-sgrub dGe-legs-dpal- zang-po." He was a disciple of Tson-k'apa, abbot (Vihârasvâmin" or "Upadhyâya" Skt., mkhan-po" Tib.) of dGaldan and first abbot of bKra-sis-lhun-po.

"Mkas-pa"=a wise man, a learned man, "vidvân" Skt., or "vidwas" from "vidyâ" [47]=science or knowledge Eitel calls it="mantras" of mystic knowledge; "grub-pa"=ready, perfect (vide above under No. 1), he who has obtained Siddha. It is, however, to be pointed out, that the word "Siddha" does not refer to those who have become free from rebirth, have attained "mukti" "moksha" the emancipation from re-birth. The "Siddhas" are considered

47.—But in Schiefner's op. cit. p. 131, "vidya"="rig-snags," so likewise in Csoma, specially for "medical science."

to be only semi-divine beings (yogîs), with supernatural powers. "Mkas-grub"=the perfect in knowledge, he who has attained highest knowledge "parâvidyâ" and a personification of this degree of knowledge with both "Samyama," i.e. perfect control of the powers of the mind according to the Yoga philosophy; and "Siddhânta" i.e. decisive knowledge.

"dGe" virtue (see No. 1), according to Jäschke also Glück, Heil for which the etymological Sanskrit term is="Kalyâna," [Kalyâna mitra]; "legs-pa"=good, pleasant, fulfilling one's wishes; and in the combination "legs-ldan"=also virtuous [see Jäschke's op. cit. p. 572. [48]] This latter term has been identified by both Wassiljew [49] and Huth [50] with the Sanskrit "Bhavya" or "bâvya" [Burnouf] happy, lucky, good.

The "ldan" is like chan, ldan-chan, bchas-pa, etc., a particle to form affirmative adjectives from substantives.

48.—It is true, Jäschke considers this translation as doubtful, referring to it only on account of the authority of Csoma, who also gives it as a term for "legs-pa"=virtue.

49.—See Wassiljew's op. cit. p. 227; ibid. p. 45 he translates "legs, rgyal"=Bhadra dschaja (?) while this term is given as "Sudschaja" in Schiefner's "Târanâtha, etc" p. 4.

50.—See his op. cit. p. 301, "Legs-ldan" is a frequent name in Mongolian history. The famous Hutuktu Hakan of the C'ahar-Mongols, born in 1591, was called "Legs-ldan Pagat'-wor" ibid. p. 49. I likewise refer here to Rockhill's translations of this term in his op. cit. p. 13 and 23, and in his "Udanavarga" p. 29 and Eitel's "Svâgata" (Tib. Legs-hongs) vide his Sanskrit Chinese Dictionary p. 167, and Schiefner's "Sudarçana" (Tib. Legs-mthon) vide in "Târanâthâ's, etc." p. 58.

Grünwedel tells us, that by "Legs-ldan" is termed a peculiar series of the Mahâkâlas (Lord Demons), represented always with robes with long sleeves holding long red sticks in their hands. According to L. Feer: "Legs-ldan"=moine coupable solennellement réprimandé, qui demande et obtient son pardon [Dulva III, 235-9, vide his "vocabulaire de l'Analyse du Kandjour" in the Annales du Musée Guimet]. For "dpal" and "bzanpo" see my etymologies as given at remarks on the 3rd Dalai Lama. An attempt at the Sanskrit reconstruction, which in this case is by no means quite easy, would be: "Mahâvâdî Kalyâna crîbhadra" or "Mahâvâdî Kalyâna bhavya crîbhadra" "Mahâvâdî" =lit. the great sage, is a title given to eminent scholars and priests of high rank. I adopted this term, although "mkas-grub-pa" may be perhaps also appropriately rendered by "Siddha-Guru" and I would not apply to it the term for "Don-grub"=Siddhârtha or Sarvârtthasiddha. For "Kal-yâna" also "Kalyânakrt" and "Kalyânakîrti" may be used.

There is a double transliteration of this Lama's name in Chinese. The first is 喇珠呢瑪綽爾濟伽勒布烙爾; the second 凱珠布烙埒克巴勒藏 It is obvious that the second comes much nearer to the above European transliteration than the first. The reconstruction of the name from the first Chinese transcription could be: "Lha grub Ñima chhoskyi rGyal-po ko êrh" "Lha, "=God, good demon, "Deva" Skt. "tägri" Mong,; "grub" vide above. Instead of "lha-grub" which combination scarcely occurs in any name perhaps "bla-grub"="the obtaining of the

Lama," [51] but even this would be uncommon as an attribute of a name. The 珠 may be transliterated by the "Shugs" [52] in Tib.=powers, energy, and "lha-shugs" could be explained by "one with the energy of god, or better "lha-zhugs," [53] [the latter being also written with "j" and the low-toned aspirated "aa" as prefix [lha$_{o}$jugs], which Jäschke translates by "the Inspired," [i.e. inspired by a god].

Another acceptable transliteration may be "Lha-tsun" which is the name of the patron saint of Sikhim. "Ñima"=sun, "sûrya" Skt. This attribute is often given to Bodhisattvas or Devas, as for instance in the name of the Bodhisattva "Ñimai snynpo"="Sûryagarbha." Grünwedel says with regard to this terminology: "Von europäischem Standpunkte aus handelt es sich in diesem Falle einfach um Personificationen in antikem Sinne, im Prinzip verwandt den spät-antiken Lokalgöttern, welche als Zeugen einer Handlung mit dargestellt sind." [54] The "Yi-dam" (Lord Protector)="Kye (ba) rdo-rje"="Hevajra" Skt. holds in his eight left hands (he is represented with sixteen arms:) skull-cups with the figures of the gods of water, wind, fire, moon, sun, death, riches and earth. The sun-god's name is "Sûrya" Skt. "Ñimai lha dmarpo" Tib. (the red sun-god).

51.—Vide in Waddell's op. cit. p. 222, where he speaks of the life of a village priest in Tibet.

52.—Vide in Jäschke's op. cit. p. 582.

53.—Vide ibid. p. 489 and 623.

54.—Vide Grünwedel's op. id. 120. "Ni-ma" Tib in Sanskrit "Arka," "Bhânu," "Aditya" "Sûrya"=le soleil saisi par Rahu (éclipse) et délivré par l'intervention de Çâkya (mdo XXX 230. Vide Feer's vocabulaire de l'analyse du Kandjour, (annales du musée Guimet). Ibidem for "Sûryagarbha."

Moreover, many prominent heads of the Lamaist hierarchy have this attribute in their names, as for instance the Great Lama of Urga (K'ure) "bJe-btsun dampa rin-po-c'e nag-dban blo-bzan c'os-kyi ñi-ma bstan'dsin dban-p'yug" or the Amdô Lama "Tu-bdan bstan pahi ñima" etc., etc.

"Chhos (C'os) kyi rGyal-po" or in abbreviated form "c'os-rgyal"=Dharma râja, a religious king or patron of religion (Csoma); "der Gesetzeskönig" (Grünwedel); "Fa-wang" 法王 in Chinese=prince of the religious law (F. Mayers). So is also called in an honorific way the King of the Dead, in Mongolian "Nom-un-khân" "Arlik khân," "gSin-rje" in Tibetan i.e- "Yama." [55] It may be noticed, that the Chinese transcriber used here two characters to transcribe the sound "chhos" (c'os). The "lo" 勒 is a 半音, the "pu" 布 in this exceptional case is not. The last two characters 格爾 seem to be the substitutes for 格埒克 as given in the second transcription, "=dge-legs" ="virtue" (happiness) and "goodness" and not as Zach translates them=Ort des Wohlstandes. His authority the 西域同文志 is here, like in some other places, inexact. [56] He may perhaps have recurred to the Mongolian, where "körö" or "ger" (Khalkha dialect; see Baron Vitale's Mongolian grammar and vocabulary), means house and property. 格爾 額特格爾 is the ancient name of a place in Inner Mongolia, being apparently inhabited by rich people, who are house-owners, etc. [額特財帛也格

55.—Grünwedel's op, id p. 168.

56.—Vide E. v. Zach's "Lexicographische Beiträge" I. part p. 95. An other wrong explanation is that for 多沁佳勒燦 rdo-cén rGyal-mt'san=Ort der grossen Steintafel. "rGyal-mt'san"

爾房屋也又作耶覩刮] as stated in the Chinese Glossary 遼史國語解.

With regard to the transcription of the "r" from foreign names in Chinese, I may insert here that the Chinese have three distinctions. Primarily, when the "r" is very much rolled [快嘟嚕], they transcribe 爾, as in the Manchu word for "strong" 雅爾堅 ya-êrh-chien (yarchien). Secondly, when the "r" is rolled slightly, they transcribe it as in the Mongol name for "black" 哈喇 [蒙古語黑色也又作曷剌]. Thirdly, when there is no rolling at all the transcription is as in the Manchu word 幹拉 [滿洲語下首也又作幹剌] opposite term to a honorific place.

In the second Chinese transliteration it is easy to identify 凱珠布 with "mk'as-grub." The "s" in

is a sign of victory, a kind of ornament of cloth (Csoma), a victorious banner (vide also Jäschke p. 111,=ein Sieges-zeichen, Standarte,) and Sarat Chandra Das, "Journey to Lhass a and Central Tibet" p. 166, gyal-tsan=canopy 1. I reproduce here a highly interesting note of Gr. Sandberg from his op. cit. p. 195, "rGyal-mt'san" pronounced gyen-ts'en=the Buddhist "flag of victory." Seen in two styles: (1) a tall cylinder of black felt with a white line or insertion encircling its near lower end, and two vertical lines of white running from the top where it narrows so as to be often almost like a shut umbrella, and sometimes surmounted by a metal trident, (2) also, made up of three colours red, yellow and blue, arranged flounce-like one above the other, with a white flounce between each colour; and placed on tops of poles which are planted in the ground near temples and chortens. The first kind decorate the eaves of gompas and palaces.

mk'as" is an ordinary final and sounds like "i," hence the Chinese transliterator's spelling it 凱. For the 格將克 see above. Idem for dpal-l(o) tsang. [57]

(2.)—The next in the list is "Pan-ch'an bSodnams p'yogs-kpi glan-po"=Dinnâga, Skt. (according to Grünwedel). Is by this meant Dignâga, as stated by Eitel op. cit. p. 50? Ample reference to the name of this celebrated Buddhist moralist is to be found in Schiefner's "Târânatha, etc." p. 126-130-135 and passim. Jigsmed nam-mk'a (Huth's op. cit.) adds the attribute "grub-dban" to his other names.

Tib. "Pan-c'en" (Pan-ch'an)="pandita" Skt., is the usual title of the head-lama of the bKra-sis-lhun-po-monastery; but also a title applied to the abbot of the Burjäts, as reported by Grünwedel. For "bSod-nams" vide above at the 3rd Dalai Lama.

"p'Yogs"=side, part, party, quarter, corner, "Dik" "Dish" in Sanskrit (Csoma; for this Sanskrit term see his Tibetan grammar, p. 133, and Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. III, p. 6,) Seite, Richtung, Weltgegend, Partei, (Jäschke). To these terminologies I add some other references with a view of ascertaining

57.—Zach translates "dpal-ldan" (巴勒丹)=Ort der Segnungen, while this term is simply the adjective-form of "dpal" which means glory, majesty, magnificence, splendour, renown; and as an adjective, noble, brave, Csoma p. 72. Jäschke translates it with Herrlichkeit, Glanz, Reichthnm, Uberfluss, Heil, Glück, Segen, Adel, etc. Although the term is used by Zach for the designation of a place, I don't understand why he suggests the "blessings of Buddhism" in the connection.

the exact meaning of this term in the present case. Wassiljew translates the name "Zab-moi p'yogs"= Gambhîrapaksha; "zab (po)-mo" deep, profound="gambhîra" Skt. "p'yogs"="paksha" or better written "paxa" Skt. has also the meaning of "side, flank, partisan;" [58] in another [59] place he translated "Sans rgyas-py'ogs" with "Buddhadiç" (?); "Sans-rgyas"=the most perfect being, a Buddha; "p'yogs"="diç" Skt. the meaning of which is: region, coast, celestial space, cardinal point. This is likewise the root used by Grünwedel in his Sanskrit reconstruction of the name. Schiefner suggests "Buddhapakscha" for "Buddhadiç" as the better form ("Târanâtha, etc." p. IX). Rockhill [60] translates "phyogs" by "cardinal points." Waddell [61] uses the term "direction" (p'yogs-bc'ui p'yogs-dral," or "description of the ten directions")—Huth [62] has it with "paxa" in "dKar-p'yogs"="çukla-paxa" the fortnight of the crescent moon [63]" and with "dig" in "bsTan-pai ñi-ma p'yogs t'ams-cad-las rnam-par rgyal-ba"=Skt. "Sarvadigvijayaçâsanâditya" [64]

"Glan"=ox, great cattle, bullock, and "glan-pochhe"=an elephant (Csoma); Rind, Ochs, Elephant, Stier

58.—See in his op. cit. p. 225.

59.—Ibid p. 223.

60.—See in his "Life of the Buddha" p. 131.

61.—See in his "Buddhism of Tibet" p. 195.

62.—See in his op. cit p. 204.

63.—Csoma translates the same term with "the light fortnight," the angels, in opposition to "nag p'yogs"=the dark fortnight (of the moon) the devils;

64.—See in his op. id. p. 205.

als or Sternbild (Jäschke)—Waddell [95] commenting upon the universe of the Buddhists, gives for the continent on the West "Godhanya"="wealth of oxen" the Tibetan version with "ba-glan-spyöd"—Rockhill [66] translates "glang-po" with "elephant." "The sthavira Upagupta "(taught) the venerable D'hîtika, and the venerable Dhîtika "having accomplished the requirements of the doctrine, "(taught) the venerable Kâla (Nag-po), and he the venerable "Sudarçana (Legs-mthong), and in this order the 'mighty "ones' (lit. the elephants) passed "away." To this he "adds, that the 'glangpo,' 'elephant,' may imply here that "these first patriarchs were the mightiest of their order, "and were not succeeded by as "great ones."

In the "Udânavarga" [67] he translates "Glang-po tche,"=having the perfect qualities of "Mahesvara," which is the attribute of Brahmâ (Civa) [68] and of the Bodhisattwa "Avalôkitêçvara," and can be translated by "Great Lord" (Mahâ Içvara) "Supreme Ruler, the highest possible conception through reason of the absolute, which is beyond all thought," as we find it stated by the Swâmi Vivekânanda in his lectures on Râja Yoga. [69] Eitel translates this term by "great sovereign, a king of dêvas, Shiva," a deity with eight arms and three eyes, etc. We know, finally, that the "Elephant" (white)=Tib. "Glan-po (dkar-po)"=Mong, "dzagän"=Skt. "Hastî" is one of the seven precious

65.—See in his op. id. p. 80.
66.—See in his "Life of the Buddha" p. 170.
67.—See p. 195 of this opus.
68.—See Burnouf's "Sanskrit-French Dictionary."
69.—See his "Vedânta Philosophy" p. 356.

gems "Sapta ratnâni" which form the enviable possession of the Buddhist "Cakravartî" "King of the Law" and "Universal Monarch." The others are the wheel=cakra, jewel=cintâmani, queen=strî, minister=mantrî or girti, horse=açva, general=senapati (or Kshatri). The elephant is a constant figure in Buddhist temples. It is represented carrying on its back a lotus-flower with Buddha resting on it in the usual meditative pose. [70] It is used symbolically as the personification of universal sovereignty.

The foregoing remarks taken all together will give us a clearer idea of what is meant by this attribute in the name of this Lama. "The Elephant of the cardinal-points" i.e. "the Universe," would be a literal version of it and it is suggesthd by it that the Lama is an Elephant or "Mighty One" adopting Rockhill's term, or a "Sovereign of the Universe" i.e. here principally the "Buddhist's Universe." One meaning of "Nâga" is "elephant," and this would explain the Sanskrit transliteration of Grünwedel "Dinnâga" (=the dragon of the great region 大城龍 vide Eitel's op. cit. p. 50). I don't consider it a very appropriate reconstruction, but every one would find the same difficulty Grünwedel has found in supplying a better one. I should only suggest to complete it by adding

70.—See for references Waddell's and Grünwedel's quoted works as well as Grünwedel's "Buddhistische Kunst in Indien" p. 136. Abel Rémusat's "Mélanges posthumes, etc." p. 452, and Baber's (R. G. Soc. paper p. 33 where he describes the image of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva the P'u-hsien P'u-sa of Chinese in sitting position on a huge elephant cast in magnificent bronze. "The image" so Baber relates "is generally called a Buddha."

the lama's other attributes: "grub-dban"="siddheçvara" and "bSodnams"="pun-ya" or "pun-ya-kri."

The Chinese transcription is 珠拜旺曲索諾木緯爾濟郎布. The four initial characters seem here curious, and, in fact, are incongruous with the European transcription. It appears to me quite sure that the Chinese transcriber adopted here the attributes generally given to "Mi-la-ras-pa," the "Holy Mila," "Grub-pai dban-p'yug mila" Tib., who lived 1038-1122 and who performed a conspicuous part in the history of Tibet throughout his life. "Grub-pai dban-p'yug" Tib.="sid-dheçvara" Skt. This is also the attribute of the "Mahâsiddheçvara Mitrayogin" "grub-pai dban-p'yug c'en-po Mitradsoki" vide in Huth and partially of "Avalôkiteçvara" (P'ags-pa Jig-rten dban-p yug "="Ârya Lôkeçvara," Skt. "the Holy Lord of the Universe.") With regard to the transliteration, the first three characters deserve no explanation; they follow the general rules. "Chü," for "p'yug" is not quite exact, but it must be noticed that both the "k" (g) and "p" (b) are, as finals, often elided in the Tibetan, and although the "u" mostly sounds like the "oo" in English, we find many cases in the Central-Tibetan where the "u" is pronounced like "ü." So, for instance, "srunpo" is pronounced "sümpo"=quiet (of horses, etc.); "dpul-pa" "ülpo"=poor, etc., etc. [71] The "Glang-po" is pronounced "lang-po," as in Tibetan the k, gh, bh, r, s, with subjoined "l" result in the sound "la." Hence the Chinese transcriber could transcribe it 郎. [72]

71.—Vide in Graham Sandberg's "Handbook of Colloquial Tibetan."

72.—Zach translates 郎布克塘="glang-sbug-t'ang" with "Ulmen-ebene." This version is quite unacceptable—"glang" never means "elm" and "glang-sbug-t'ang" could be very appropriately rendered by "waste plain for cattle" (平原空

礦之地易於滋生牛種故名). Literally it means "a cattle-hollow-plain" or "hollow-plain for cattle." The "sbug" has here, as I was assured by different Tibetan lamas also the meaning of "空礦" =waste, void, and desolate. "Sbug-t'ang "=desolate plain, where only scanty grass grows for cattle. Of course the Tibetan plain must not be identified with our idea of "plains." I quote here what Huc says in his Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China p. II. p. 278. "A detailed account of a journey in Thibet being extremely susceptible of monotony, we abstain, that we may not fall into unnecessary repetitions from describing the ordinary mountains. We shall content ourselves with mentioning the most celebrated. Those, which, in the Chinese phrase, 'claim the life of travelers.' This method, besides, will be conformable with the style of the inhabitants of these mountainous countries, who call whatever is not lost in the clouds "plain," whatever is not precipice and labyrinth, "level road." Therefore, I believe, that this "hollow plain" is only a "hollow, where many cattle pasture," or perhaps a "valley." The development from the meaning "hollow" into "valley" seems to me here analogous with that in the term "shon" (shoñs) (vide both Csoma's op. cit. p. 292 and Jäschke's op. cit. p 536 (lithographed edition). For curiosity's sake I add here, that in all the reports and books of travelers in Tibet, I looked up, as for instance Huc. Prinsep, Prjévalski, Bower, Welby, Deasy, Younghusband, Knight, Desgodins, Bonvalot, Beauregard, Garnier, Ujfalvy, Rijnhart, Carey-Taylor, Sarat Candra Das, etc. I could not find any mention made of elm-trees occurring in the different regions of Tibet,—Graham Sandberg's list of "plants and trees of Tibet proper" does not contain even the name of it; neither is this to be found in Th. Herbert Lewin's "Manual of Tibetan (English-Tibetan), or in W. Ramsay's Western Tibetan dictionary. So it seems that the 'elm-trees' must not be very frequent in the flora of Tibet. Only Rockhill mentions them in his 'Land of Lamas' p. 236, 237. I quote

him: 'At Ribo' (place in Eastern Tibet near Dèrgé) commences the garden of this part of Tibet, the fertile valley of Rungbatsa; and villages are as thickly scattered over the country as in Switzerland. Around each, grow some fine elms or other trees and walls or hedges inclose the fields, etc." According to the Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionary "brda$_{o}$ yiga min don gs-al bad byédpi zlapi od (s)nan zhés bya pa zhug(s) so" the elm's proper Tibetan name is "Yo-$_{o}$bog-shin" [榆樹]. An other more vulgar term for it is "Nya-stod" or "Nyastod-po." The name of the mountain-elm [山榆] is "riiyo-$_{o}$bog" and never "glang-sbug" as the 西域同文志 erroneously translates. All these terms are missing in Csoma and Jäschke. (See, however, Jäschke's op. cit. p. 544, "ri$_{o}$bog"=Hügelvorsprung, also referred to by Zach in his op. cit. p. 98. This meaning cannot be applied here, although keen etymologists may find some connexion between "a Hügelvorsprung" and "elm-trees." The name of the above place "Ribo" which Rockhill identifies with "mountainous cavern" "ri-sbug', could perhaps, likewise, be brought in some connexion with "rii-yo-$_{o}$bog"=elm-tree, while the combination "glang-sbug-t'ang" is similar to another: "glang-rii-t'ang" which is the name of a place in "前藏" or ', Anterior Tibet" and could be rendered by mountainous, elevated plain, i e. plateau for the cattle.)

I finally add, that "Yo-$_{o}$bog-shin" (榆樹="chala ssu motu" Mong) is a designation frequently used by Mongolian Lamas for one of the twenty or more Living Buddhas in Kumbum, Rahu 'Hut'ukht'u.

(3).—The next Lama's name appears in Waddell's list as: "dben-sa-pa bLo-bzan Don-grub." The name "dben-sa is mentioned in the Record of $_{o}$Jigs-med nam-mk'a [87] as a place on the way from Lha-sa to bKras'is lhun-po-. "dben-sa-pa's" meaning here is "hermit," "the Great Hermit"=

73.—Vide in Huth's op. cit. II part, p. 211.

Schiefner, in "Taranatha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien" p. 271, 273., translates this term by "Samkrântivâdin."

"dben-sa-pa c'en-po." "Don-grub"="Siddhârtha," Skt. vide my remarks on the 1st Dalai Lama.

The Chinese transliteration: **結珠拜旺曲羅布藏達多王珠巴.** "The dben-sa-pa" is here dropped, but the "rje grub-pai dban-p'yug," being an attribute of the holy monk and wandering ascetic Mila-ras-pa is appropriately chosen in its stead by the transcriber. Indeed he, Mila-raspa, is one of the most popular saints of Tibet, owing his popularity greatly also to his 100,000 songs.

The **達多王** in Chinese, to come near to the sound "don" is a nice specimen of the "**反切**" "fan-chie-method" of spelling foreign characters [**蕃語**]. By the contraction of the two characters we get approximately the right sound.

A Sanskrit reconstruction of his name would be "Çramana Sumatisiddhârtha," the "çramana's" being those, who alike to the "Çramana Gautama", carried on a life of "Açrama," living in forests and wandering from one place to another.

(4.)—This Lama's name is given "bLo-bzan ch'os-kyi rGyal-mt'san" by Waddell. He is the first Panc'en of bKra-s'is-lhun-po. The Sanskrit reconstruction of his name is given by Grünwedel "Mahâpandita Sumatidharmadhvaja." His full name is recorded by ₀Jigs-med nam-m'ka "Panc'en t'ams-cad mk'yen-pa bLo-bzan c'os-kyi rGyal-mt'san dpal bzan-po," for which the Sanskrit equivalent would be: "Mahâpandita sarvajñasumatidharmadvajaçrîbhadra."

The Chinese list has two transcriptions. The better is "**羅布藏錯爾濟嘉勒參**; the other is "**羅布藏垂**

吉嘉穆錯." In the first, notice is taken of the meaning of the characters, as phonetically the two terms "rGyamt'so" and "rGyal-mt'san" may approach each other, but they widely differ in their meaning, (rGya-mt'so=the ocean, rGyal-mt'san=the victorious banner.) The different way of transcribing the same names plainly gives evidence of the fact that the records of the 聖武記 are only compilations of historical memoranda, which had been gathered at different times by different persons, and it also shows how difficult it can be to identify foreign names, particularly if these are not at all or not entirely known from other reliable sources.

(5.)—The next Pan-ch'an Lama's name is "bLo-bzan ye-shè dpal bzan-po" or with all attributes "Panch'en T'ams-cad mk'yen-pa bBlo-bzan ye-sh'ès dpal-bzanpo," as mentioned by ₀Jigs-med nam-mk'a.[74] The Sanskrit transcription is given by Grünwedel "Sumatijñâna-çrîbhadra," which when transcribing his full name ought 'to be preceded by the usual "Mahâpandita sarvajña." "Ye-sh'ès"=knowledge, etc. Mong, "bälgäbilik," Skt. "jñâna." There are equally two Chinese transliterations 班禪羅布藏伊喜 and 羅卜藏伊什. For other transliterations, I refer to the 遼金元三史國語解 (伊實唐古特語智慧也作乙實又作乙薛). Vide also my remarks on the 6th Dalai Lama.

(6).—The following Lama, terminating this list, is "bLo-bzan dpal-ldan ye-sh'ès. His full name is Pan-ch'an Ta'ms cad mk'yen ₀zigs c'en-po rJe btsun bBlobzan dpal-ldan

74.—Vide in Huth's op. id. p. 283 (and passim).

ye-sh'ès." [75] Grünwedel's Sanskrit reconstruction of the name is "Sumatiçrîjñâna" which is to be completed by "Mahâpandita Âryabhadanta sarvajñasarvadarçin, etc."

Koeppen translates it with "der Hoch würdige, die Heilige Andacht." The two Chinese transliterations are 班禪哲布尊巴勒丹伊喜, and 羅卜藏巴丹伊什. The dropping of the 勒 (lo) in the second is a rather uncommon proceeding.

The name 代喀 or 代喀廟 to which I have referred in part III of this book, is probably identical with the 'bsTan-rgyas-glin" in 'Alagsa (=阿拉善?) as reported by "Jigs-med nam-m'ka. [76] I give here an excerpt of the translation of Huth:....." Then in the Iron-Rat year (1779), on the 10th day of the 3rd month, he (the Pan-ch'an Lama) directed his horse away from sKu-ₒbum. At this time the HighTreasurer and the rest of the retinue were not free from small-pox "(lha-brum" Tib. vulgarly also "lhen'-dum.") So the Lord (the Pan-ch'an) ordered the Ku-mky'en bla-ma dKon-mcóg ₒjigs-med dban-po: "Do pile up for them a heap of stones!" Accordingly, the latter piled up a heap of stones, while the Lord proceeded with a retinue of three hundred priests and laymen, among whom were also the HighTreasurer, to the monastery bsTan-rgyas-glin in 'Alagsa. Thus he freed them all from small-pox, without harm to any of them"..... The description of Poorungheer Gosein of the Pan-ch'an

75.—Ibidem p. 302 (and passim).

76.—Vide Huth's op. cit. 313, 317.

Lama's route confirms my supposition that "Tai-ka" and the above monastery are identical. His spelling is "Taygaw Goombaw" and "Allasseah" (for "'Alagsa"). The Royal monastery "Tan-gye-ling" bears the same name ("bstan =" doctrine of Buddha, orthodox religion, rgyas=extensive, ample, large.)

The name "Tai-ka" also strongly reminds one of "Ta-ka Tashidin" in Sikhim, said to have been built by Lhatsün c'en-po. [77] "Brag" (Ta)=rock, "brag-dmar"= name of a rock in or near Lha-sa but not identical with "dmar-po-ri" "the Red Hill" [78] the hill, where the King Sron Tsan gam-po is stated to have built his Pho-dan Marpo Palace.

I am not quite certain of the exact locality of this place. From information gained from some Pekinese lamas and the 理藩院, I gather that it is situated on the pilgrim route from Peking to Tibet (Lha-sa) which leads through the Northern provinces of China, the Koko-nor and so on southward, somewhere on the Western frontier of Kansuh or in the 草地, the so-called land of grass, which is northward from the 青海. This determination would bring it near to the town called "Tankar" on the westerly frontier of Kansuh, known from the description of many travelers: as, Rockhill, Captain Welby, Sven Hedin and particularly the plucky lady-traveler and indefatigable missionary Dr. Susie Rijnhart, who was settled in this town for a considerable time. Rockhill, however, gives "Tanka-

77.—The Patron Saint of Sikhim, see in Waddell's "Lamaism in Sikhim" and his op. cit. (passim).

78.—Jäschke p. 385.

erh" as the Chinese equivalent of the name and states in a footnote that it was called "Tang-keou-eul" by Huc and "Tonkir" or "Donkir" by Prjevalsky. [79] "Tibetans and Mongols name it "Dungkor," or "Tungkor." The name is not Chinese; it may be "tang-mk'ar" "fort (commanding, the steppe" if it is a Tibetan name, of which I am not sure .....(vide his "Land of the Lama's" p. 199). Compare with this last name also Zach's "t'ang-dkar-rdsongs" 塘噶爾宗=Stadt mit weisser Mauer in der Ebene (in his op. cit. p. 93.) Playfair does not mention a place called "Tai-ka," neither is this name to be found in the 蒙古源流 with reference to its placement in 阿拉善. The identification of Tai-ka with Tankar seems, however, to be rather incorrect, and I would suggest "Tai g(h)in Nor" (Mong,)="Tas gin mt'sho" (Tib. pronounced Tai gi mcho)=代河泊 in Chinese, as the better one. The name of this place is apparently derived from the fact that springs (waters) had gathered and accumulated there for many years. It is also not mentioned in Playfair, because it is only a small place, although well-known to lama priests ; but it figures on the 皇朝直省地輿全圖. It is situated between 豐鎮廳 in Ta-t'ung Fu; (Lat. 40° 30′, Long 113° 15′) and 寧遠廳 in So-p'ing Fu (Lat. 40° 20′, Long 112° 55′) in Shansi, and the temple erected there for the devotion of the pilgrims is called 桑結廟; thus, the reference to the "bsTan-rgyas glin" of ₀Jigs-med nam-m'ka can also be applied here.

79.—Dutreuil de Rhins spells this name "Dong-gar," Don-kur," "Tan-kor" "Dounggar," "Tonker" and "Tongkor" see his op. on "L'Asie Centrale" p. 479.

I may be permitted to add in conclusion some words on names of Lamas in general and particularly of their—sit venia verbo—"Sanskritization."

In analysing these names, it will be obvious to us that most of them are mere titles, which are at least very frequently subject to repetitions and that usually there is only one portion which bears and saves the individuality of the Lama in question. Among these titles constantly repeated one could perhaps roughly distinguish such as are conferred upon the Grand Lamas of a certain monastery, including attributes, which are due only to the heads of these monasteries; and such as may be used deliberately without any rule or system in the names of various dignitaries of the Lamaist Church, and are perhaps only occasioned by the individual merits of these priests. An other more appropriate division would be the following, containing five categories.

(1.)—To the first category belong the titles Dalai Lama, Pan-ch'an Lama, Bogdo-Gegen Hutukutu or Jeptsun Dampa, Dharma Raja of Bhotan, Hutukutu in general, and many others, which, however, I have no space to specify here and which moreover have been dealt with exhaustively by Waddell, Grünwedel, etc. The above titles are the attributes of the head-lamas of Lhasa, Tashi-lhunpo, Urga-Kuren, Bhotan, etc. (the last of the great reincarnations of the Lamaist Hierarchy) and could be looked at just as the titles of Church dignitaries in Western Countries: Pope, Primate, (as is called in some countries the first Archbishop; in Hungary the Archbishop of

Esztergom, (Gran), in Spain, the Archbishop of Toledo (formerly); Patriarchs (of Constantinople, Venice, Lissabon); Archimandrites (title given to some head-priests of the Greek-Oriental Church), and Cardinals (the "hinges" on which the Christian Church turns).

(2.)—Then there is a series of titles given in honorific sense and which mostly, though not exclusively, are used in the names of one of the above-mentioned High Lamas, as for instance Jina (rgyal-va=the victor) for the Dalai Lama; titles suggesting teaching and similar spiritual powers, with which the Pan-ch'an is credited to be qualified in first degree as the Pan-ch'an Lamas were always selected to act as the spiritual teachers of the new Reincarnations of the Dalai Lamas. Moreover, their name's meaning is "teacher," "pandita," "mahâpandita" and I think that from this point of view also my translation "mahâvadî" for "mk'asgrnb" in the title of the first Pan-ch'an (even if he is ranged only among the "so-called" Pan-ch'an Lamas) is justified, as this title is given only to great scholars and religious teachers. "Ch'os-kyi rGyal-po" "King of the Religion," "Dharma Rhaja" is also one of these inasmuch as it is not considered to be the designation of the Bhotan hierarch only. Here, an appropriate comparison may be that with the titles which are awarded to the Popes: "Servus Servorum," "Vice-Regent of the Most High" "Key of the whole Universe," "Successor of St. Peter," etc. and also with the permanent attributes, adjoined to the names of certain Sovereigns as the titles "Apostolic Majesty" (due to the Emperor of Austria as King of Hungary) "Rex Fidelissimus" (due to the King of Portugal).

"His Catholic Majesty" (due to the King of Spain) and previously "Defender of the Faith (King of England. Henry VIII); "Most Christian King" (Kings of France).

(3.)—Then, we note titles derived from the Dhyânibuddhas and Dhyânibodhisattvas, of which certain Lamas are considered to be the Reincarnations. Such are "Lôkês'vara," "Is'vara," etc. usual attributes of the Dalai Lamas as the Reincarnations of "Padmapâni-Avalôkita"; "Sumati" from "Sumatikriti"="Tsong khapa" incarnate in every Bogda Gegen in Mongolia, therefore this title is often applied to the latter; "Ch'an-skya Lama" due to the Head Lamas of Peking as the Reincarnations of the illustrious Mongolian Lama and teacher "Ch'an-skya Rolpahi Dorje."

(4.)—The next titles are given in honorific sense, and bear already some marks of individuality as they are rather granted to certain highly qualified and popular priests only. These are, "P'agspa" "Highness" "Sublimity" "Reverend"="bhadanta" Skt.; "rJe"="Ârya"; "t'ams-cad mkyen-pa"="sarvajña"; "grub dban," etc., etc. These may be equal to those titles which History has bestowed in our countries upon men of great lustre and eminent capacities. So we speak of a "Beda Venerabilis," a "Divino Dante," of the "Ever-living poet Shakespeare," "the poet of liberty Petöfi," "the Grand Old Man Gladstone." "The Father of his Country (Washington)," etc., etc.

[5.]—Finally, we come to the proper names of the individual Lamas, though even these are only adopted religious names. These names in Tibetan are the translations of Sanskrit names of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tutelaries

Defenders of the Faith, Mahâsiddhas, etc. One of the best guides we possess for the reconstructions of these lama names, is the "Mahâvyutpatti," an encyclopedia containing all the Buddhist nomenclature in four languages. Grünwedel has supplied us likewise with an excellent dissertation on the successive increase of the Pantheon of Buddhism, which was in connexion with the propagation of Buddhism and the development and variation Buddhism was undergoing in the different countries. There are many thousands of these deified Buddhist Arhats, etc., but this monograph is not intended to give either a systematic list of them [as was successfully initiated by Mr. Pander] or to enter into any closer discussion of the whole scheme of this evolution out of the limited, original forms, as has been exposed by Grünwedel in his "Buddhistische Kunst in Indien." I think, however, that the name of the Tibetan Lamas, though being the translations of Sanskrit names, must not necessarily be translations of Buddhas or Buddhist saints and holy priests, reported in Buddhist legends, etc., who have actually lived. After all, the origin of the name "Padmâpani" "being simply an adjective in substantive form" (vide Grünwedel's op. cit. p. 168) is a good specimen of such a nomenclature. I am of the opinion that the adoption of simple distinguishing names for the Lamaist High Dignitaries, or of mere epithets, also worn by deceased illustrious priests or legendary Saints, often occurs according to the general form of conferring religious names upon the simple novices. Of course, in the latter case only the head lama of the monastery (usually), officiating at the initiation of the novice, gives the names, while

in the former case this will be done by the Dalai Lama and for the Dalai Lama by the Regent, or by an assembly of High Priests. As a rule this religious name is selected from the Buddhist Pantheon for the novice but this is not an absolute necessity. And, likewise, it seems to me, that this is not a compelling necessity with the great Reincarnations of the Lamaist Church, as their Tibetan names often show combinations of names of ancient saints, patriarchs, teachers of morals (atchâryas) and of mere epithets and honorific attributes. I mention this especially in support of my versions for "Nag-dban"="vâgâru" (though this rather belongs under heading 4); "Tsans-dbyans"="Brahmanî" or "Brahmaçrî": "mk'as-grub dge-legs"="Mahâvadî Kalyana-bhavya" or the latter part also "Kalyânakîrti" as simple epithet, "Skal-bzan rGya-mt'so=also "B'aga-sâgara."

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

[redacted]

NOV 5 1947
Dec. 8

18Oct'50 BH
3Jan51 CWB

Nang
O.D.

12Apr'51 MC

Apr 2'51 LU

12Jul'52 GC

[redacted]

JUL 11 1952 LU

30 Ja'59 WJ

REC'D LD
JUL 1 1963

DEC 4 1971 54

MAR 2 9 2000

REC'D LD NOV 27 71-2 PM 6 1

D 21-100m-12,'46 (A2012s16) 4120

Syracuse, N. Y.
Stockton, Calif.

M278491
DS754
C5

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY